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The Lafourche District in 1861-1862: A Problem in Local Defense

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WESTWARD FROM NEW ORLEANS, across the Mississippi and the lakes beyond, lies the Lafourche district. Shaped like a tent, the district is bounded at the top by lands along the Mississippi, on the west by the Atchafalaya Basin, and below by the Gulf of Mexico. It was in 1861, as it is today, a bayou country, taking its very name from its central stream. Bayou Lafourche left the Mississippi eighty miles above New Orleans and flowed roughly parallel to the River one hundred and ten miles to the Gulf. The banks of the Bayou, like the banks of the Mississippi, were natural levees formed by sediment deposits from overflows. A mile or two wide on either side of the upper Bayou, and gradually narrowing farther down, these soil strips comprised the bulk of the land above swamp level in the two parishes of Assumption and Lafourche. The other principal bayous in the district were Terrebonne, Black, Blue, du Large, Chacahoula, Petit Caillou, and Grand Caillou, all in Terrebonne Parish. Individually or in conjunction their banks afforded land comparable in total extent to that in either of the parishes along Bayou Lafourche. Away from the margins of the larger bayous nearly the whole countryside was either cypress swamp or coastal marsh.

The Lafourche district possessed exceptional social as well as geographical uniformity. In all three parishes the leaders in wealth and influence were the large sugar planters, pre-

dominantly "Americans," while three-fourths or more of the free inhabitants were Acadian or other Creole small proprietors, tradesmen, artisans, fishermen, and hunters. With population amounting in 1860 to 19,923 whites, 315 free Negroes, and 21,276 slaves, the habitable land areas were so heavily settled that the banks of the principal streams resembled continuous villages. Assumption, the parent parish, had the highest proportion of small proprietors. Terrebonne, the youngest and most "American," had the highest proportion of slaves (56.1% of total population). Lafourche had at once the greatest number of very large plantations and the lowest proportion of slaves (45.5%). Lafourche and Terrebonne, coastal in their lower reaches, harbored most of the fishermen and hunters. Thibodaux, or Thibodeauxville, parish seat of Lafourche, was the only town within the district of any weight; its population was 1,380 in 1860. Assumption depended much upon Donaldsonville (population 1,475), parish seat of Ascension, located in the fork between the Mississippi and Bayou Lafourche. Napoleonville, parish seat of Assumption, was a mere village; Houma, parish seat of Terrebonne, had perhaps 600 inhabitants. The fact that Terrebonne did not lie on Bayou Lafourche had divorced it slightly from the other two parishes. From 1857 onward, however, Terrebonne and Lafourche shared in use of the New Orleans, Opelousas and Great Western Railroad, while Assumption and Lafourche continued their common enjoyment of the Bayou.

The railroad line, eighty miles in length, began at Algiers opposite New Orleans and ran up the Mississippi and across the Lafourche district to Brashear City (now Morgan City) on Berwick Bay. Along the line were Boutte Station, twenty-four miles above Algiers; Bayou des Allemands, at the entrance to the Lafourche district; Raceland, at the approach to Bayou Lafourche;¹ Lafourche Crossing, on the Bayou four miles below Thibodaux; Terrebonne (now Shriever), debarkation point for Houma and Thibodaux; Tigerville (now

¹ A branch track two miles long extended from Raceland station to the bank of the Bayou.

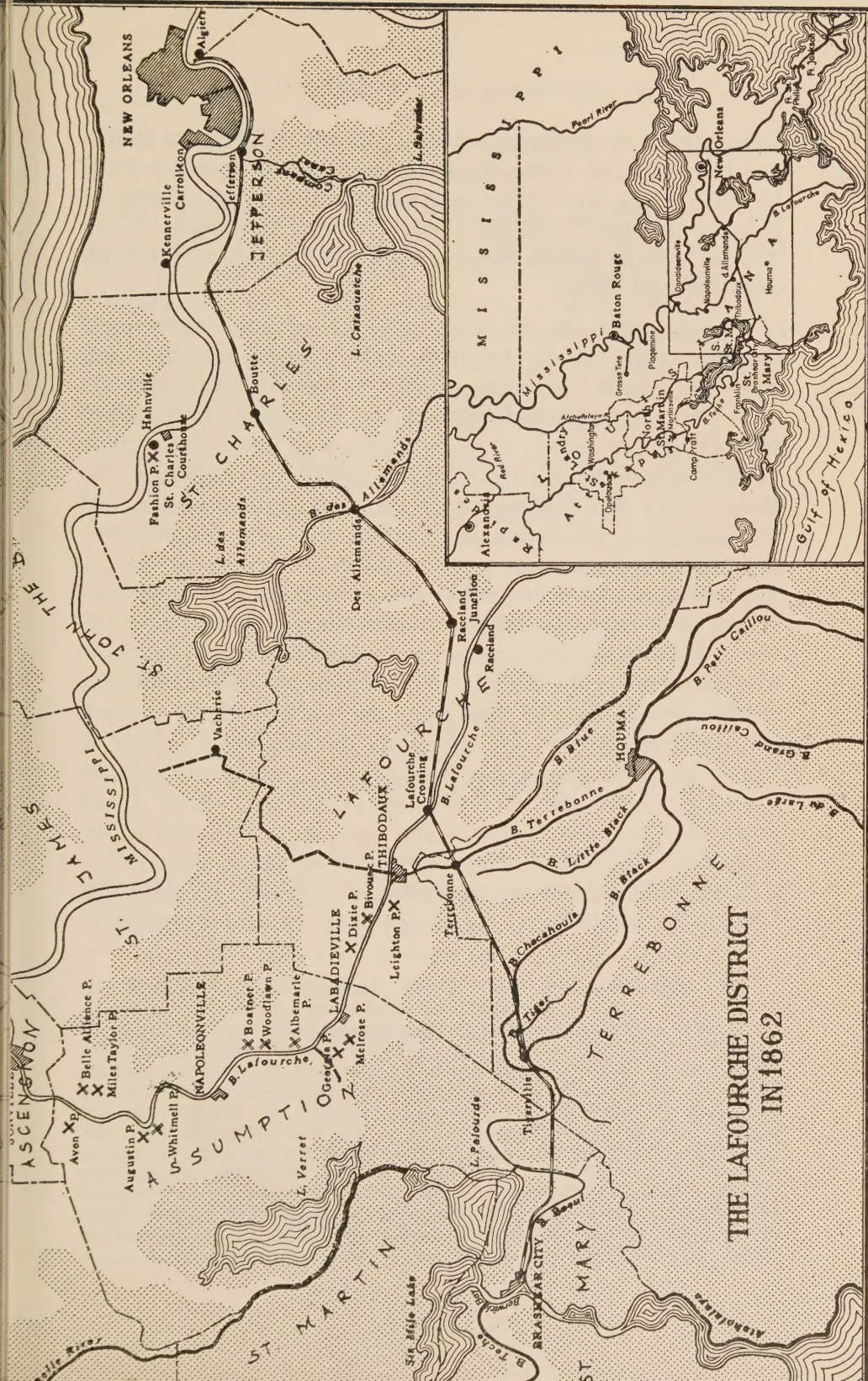


Fig. 13

Gibson²), at the junction of Bayou Tiger with Bayou Black; and Bayou Boeuf, a crossing seven miles east of Brashear City. In the coming war these stations—mere stopping points or clusters of a few buildings—would receive thousands of unwilling visitors and achieve minor fame as sites of camps, captures, and fights.

The fact that Bayou Lafourche ran south, while most through travel in the lower trans-Mississippi was east and west, denied the Lafourche district the fame that its remarkable features warranted. Few of the thousands who visited New Orleans by water, or of the scores who wrote about their visits, saw anything of Lafourche except the efflux of the Bayou from the Mississippi. With the opening of the rail line outsiders did begin to pass through the district, but they still hardly saw it, for the rail route lay mostly in cypress swamps and across, rather than along, the settled bayous. It was thus only natural that impressions varied greatly between those who first entered the district by rail and those who came down the Bayou. As numbers of Federal soldiers would soon testify, the visitor by rail felt himself in an endless timbered morass that provoked distaste, even a kind of fright; he remembered gray Spanish moss, exuberant, almost strangling vines, mats of floating vegetation, slime, black pools, cypress bolls, turtles, water moccasins, and, above all, alligators. The visitor who came down the Bayou found himself, by contrast, in an agricultural corridor so rich and beautifully tended that he might even debate whether it,

² The leading planter in the Tigerville neighborhood was Tobias Gibson of Oak Forest, a man much noticed by Federal soldiers during the war because his property enjoyed protection by a Federal guard while two of his sons, one a brigade commander, fought in the Confederate army. Homer B. Sprague, *History of the 13th Infantry Regiment of Connecticut Volunteers . . .* (Hartford, 1867), 183; Isaac H. Elliot, *History of the Thirty-Third Regiment Illinois Veteran Volunteer Infantry . . .* (Gibson City, Ill., 1902), 86; Albert O. Marshall, *Army Life in the Thirty-Third Illinois . . .* (2nd ed., Joliet, Ill., 1884), 397-398; Tobias Gibson to Hon. John Perkins, Jr., August 28, 1861, in Applications for Office, Archives of the Confederate States Department of State (the so-called "Pickett Papers," Library of Congress; Eugene M. Violette, "Randall Lee Gibson," Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (20 vols. and index, New York, 1928-1937), VII, 256-257. (Hereinafter cited as *DAB*.)

rather than the fabled Teche, deserved to be called "the garden of Louisiana."³

The fullest and most appreciative description of the upper Lafourche as it appeared during the Civil War was written by James K. Hosmer (1834-1927), Harvard graduate, Unitarian minister, and corporal in a Massachusetts regiment.⁴ His regiment camped briefly at Donaldsonville and then made an uneventful march in early spring down to Thibodaux and Terrebonne Station. On March 29, 1863, Hosmer said the landscape at Donaldsonville must

be very like Holland. The tents are pitched in a perfectly level field,—stretching, without a fence, far and wide, with only here and there a tree. Along one side of the field runs the bayou, behind its Levee. The water now brims up nearly to the edge of this Levee, though on the land side there must be a slope of six or eight feet from the top of the bank to the surface of the land. If an opening were made in the Levee, our camp would be instantly drowned by the rush of waters. Sloops and schooners of considerable tonnage sail up and down the bayou, and one full-sized clipper-ship lies at anchor just opposite us. To see these craft, we are obliged to look up. The water-line of the bayou is about on a level with our eyes; so that the hulls and rigging of the vessels are in the air, over our heads. . . .⁵

After the completion of his march down the Bayou, Hosmer summed up his observations in a journal entry of April 3, 1863.

We shall carry home a much more favorable impression as to the resources and civilization of this State than we

³ Federal soldiers almost unanimously praised the Teche country as the best part of Louisiana. Elias P. Pellet, *History of the 114th Regiment, New York State Volunteers* . . . (Norwich, N. Y., 1866), 64; Henry A. Shorey, *The Story of the Maine Fifteenth* . . . (Bridgton, Me., 1890), 72; Orton S. Clark, *The One Hundred and Sixteenth Regiment of New York State Volunteers* . . . (Buffalo, 1868), 130. Those adequately acquainted with the Lafourche thought it a strong second to the Teche. B. F. Stevenson, *Letters from the Army* (Cincinnati, 1884), 265, 275.

⁴ After the war Hosmer became a college professor, librarian and historian. Solon J. Buck, "James Kendall Hosmer," *DAB*, IX, 244-245.

⁵ James K. Hosmer, *The Color Guard: Being a Corporal's Notes on Military Service in the Nineteenth Army Corps* (Boston, 1864), 110-111.

should have had if we had not passed through this country of the La Fourche. From Donaldsonville to Terre Bonne, a distance of nearly forty miles, the aspect of the country varies but little. It is thickly peopled; the plantations succeeding one another as do the farms in any populous agricultural region of the North.

. . . On one side [as we marched] rose the slope of the Levee; ten or twelve feet high from the road, two or three from the water on the other side. . . . On our right . . . we passed, now houses of moderate size, bare of elegance—sometimes even squalid in appearance; now, again, mansions of comfortable look; and, not unfrequently, beautiful seats, set up high to preserve them from danger in case of a crevasse, with colonnades ornamented tastefully with orange groves and the glorious live-oak, with *trees* full of roses instead of bushes.

Plantation after plantation! Along the road were white palings, or often the pleasanter enclosure of a rose-tree hedge, with white roses all out, and the green of a richer depth than we know it. Sometimes the planter and his family looked out at us from behind a "protection" posted before them on the gate, seated upon the broad portico under the wide roof, beneath wide-spreading awnings, with open doors and windows behind. Then, between house and hedge, these marvellous gardens! Tall trees overhung them; with vines, sometimes nearly as thick as the trunks, twining, supple as serpents, from root to topmost bough—twining, hanging in loops, knotted into coils. Then, underneath, flowers white and delicate, adorned with dewy jewels, scented with odors incomparable; flowers uncouth and spiny; the cactus, not here exotic, but "to the manor born," its gnarled and prickly stem thickly set with purple buds. The air would be pungent with sweetness as the column marched past.

Such tropic luxury of air and vegetation! These scents and zephyrs . . . bird-songs . . . broad palm-leaves . . . blossoms of crimson and saffron and white . . . perfume . . . all these, and I suppose, too, the foil to all these,—the miasma of the swamp close at hand, and the poisonous serpent lurking there.

When the garden was passed, generally we came to a

huge gate, upon and about which would be clustered the negro force of the whole estate, old and young. From this a road ran, down which, at the distance of a quarter of a mile perhaps, we could see the white chimneys of the sugar-mill; the village of negro cabins; then acres on acres of cane-field, stretching clear to the heavy forest on the verge of the horizon.⁶

Probably best among the small number of wartime descriptions that touched the Lafourche district below the railroad was a sketch by Charles C. Nott (1827-1916), colonel of the 176th New York Volunteers, who had occasion to ride from Terrebonne Station down Bayou Terrebonne to Houma within a few weeks of the time that Hosmer marched down Bayou Lafourche.⁷ The pronounced dissimilarity in tone between Nott and Hosmer reflected differences both in the observers and in the areas they had traversed.

It is not [wrote the New York colonel] a pleasant ride to Houma; the road runs along a bayou, as straight and stagnant as a canal. Occasionally there comes a boat, freighted with a dozen barrels of molasses or a few hogsheads of sugar, furrowing its way through the green scum that covers the water, and breaking down the rank-growing weeds that choke the channel. The vagabond-looking ponies that drag it along, travel on the "levee," which has the appearance of a tow-path, and makes the bayou look more than ever like a canal. This bayou is a hideous frog-pond, long drawn out, filled with black, slimy mud, and teeming with hideous reptiles. My horse starts as I ride beside it, and snuffs the tainted air nervously, for two turkey-buzzards fly up from the huge carcass of an alligator, and alight close beside me on a fence. Two more remain on the alligator, gorged so that they cannot rise. Their rough, dirty feathers remind one of the uncombed locks of a city scavenger. No one ever shoots them,

⁶ *Ibid.*, 115-117. Shorter and generally cooler descriptions of the Lafourche by other members of Hosmer's highly articulate regiment may be found in J. F. Moors, *History of the Fifty-Second Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers* (Boston, 1893), 98-106, *passim*.

⁷ Nott, a lawyer in New York City before the war, was appointed early in 1865 to the United States Court of Claims and served thereon for forty years. Robert E. Cushman, "Eliphalet Nott," *DAB*, XIII, 579-580.

but draws back and says, with unconcealed disgust, "What a foul bird that is."

Yet on the other side of the road, spreading back to the poisonous swamps in the rear, lie some of the rich plantations of Louisiana. There are the sugar-houses, with their heavy brick chimneys, as large and clumsy as those of a foundry; and near by stand the planter's house, the overseer's house, the engineer's house, and a little village of contraband cabins. The vast fields are cut up into square blocks by ditches, sometimes ten feet deep, reminding one of the graded lots in the outskirts of a city. On one side of each range of these blocks is a raised plantation road, which crosses the ditches on substantial bridges, and runs, perhaps for miles, arrow-like, as a railroad. It is probable that the plantation is surrounded by a levee, to keep the water out. The large ditches then empty into a canal, and at the end of this canal will be found a "pumping machine," driven by a steam engine, which pumps the plantation dry and keeps it above water. Such wealthful agriculture we have nowhere in the North.⁸

Traditionally conservative in temper, the Lafourche district had taken a prudent part, even a reluctant one, in the exciting public affairs of 1860-1861. Assumption and Lafourche were among the three Louisiana parishes that gave pluralities to Stephen A. Douglas, Northern Democrat, in 1860. Terrebonne Parish preferred John C. Breckinridge, Southern Democrat, but his margin over John Bell, Constitutional Unionist, was a single vote, and in the district as a whole the combined vote for Douglas and Bell, representing the more moderate positions in the sectional conflict, was

⁸ Eliphalet Nott, *Sketches in Prison Camps: A Continuation of Sketches of the War* (3rd ed., New York, 1865), 26-28. A. J. H. Duganne, *Camps and Prisons. Twenty Months in the Department of the Gulf* (3rd ed., New York, 1865), parallels Nott's sketches and devotes to the Lafourche district and Brashear City the most space accorded them (about 175 pages) in any Civil War narrative. See pp. 53-54 for his version of the above trip to Houma, or a similar one. Duganne, poet, novelist, controversialist, and miscellaneous writer, was the lieutenant colonel of the 176th New York. Unfortunately *Twenty Months in the Department of the Gulf*, though highly commended in George H. Genzmen, "A. J. H. Duganne," *DAB*, V, 492, and in E. M. Coulter, *Travels in the Confederate States, A Bibliography* (Norman, Okla., 1948), 80, is so glib, inaccurate, and opinionated that the student will be puzzled to know how far he can trust it.

twice that for Breckinridge. (The state-wide vote was 22,681 for Breckinridge, 20,204 for Bell, and 7,625 for Douglas.) In the secession convention the nine-man delegation from the Lafourche district unanimously preferred some form of coöperation to immediate secession by separate state action.⁹

When the war broke out only three companies of troops for Confederate service volunteered from the Lafourche district, and only one more had come forward by the end of the year. Indeed, down to February, 1862, the Lafourche district, in common with the other country parishes of the Creole region of southern Louisiana, had a volunteer record so bad that it was bound to shame any Confederate patriot who brought himself to contemplate it.¹⁰ Then a combination of forces, including the perilous military situation in the West after the fall of Fort Donelson and the magic name of Beauregard attached to "Soul-Stirring Appeals" for troops, brought about a wave of volunteering. Elise (Mrs. Braxton) Bragg, at home on Bivouac Plantation above Thibodaux, reported on March 3 to her husband, then a major general under Beauregard at Jackson, Tenn.: "There has been a great effort made here to get up companies. The fact they will be *drafted*¹¹ has helped the cause wonderfully. As usual, the worst officers possible are elected." A few days later she believed that Bragg would "soon command all the troops from this portion of the neighbourhood, including your friends the *Creoles*. They will make good troops, dearest. They are obedient, good marksmen, habituated to exposure,

⁹ Three voted for Rozier's conditional unionist resolution; all nine voted for Fuqua's cooperationist resolution; and two finally voted against the ordinance of secession. Ralph A. Wooster, "The Louisiana Secession Convention," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXXIV (April, 1951), 126, 127, 128, 129, 132.

¹⁰ Cf. *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, February 21, 1862, wherein "A Volunteer" tabulated the companies in active service from each parish of the state and pointed out the laggard areas.

¹¹ By "draft" Mrs. Bragg presumably meant compulsory state service, discussed in the sixth paragraph below. The Confederate conscription act was not recommended by the President until March 28, 1862, and not passed until April 16. U. S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (70 vols. in 128, Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. IV, Vol. I, 1031, 1095-1097. (Hereinafter cited as *Official Records*.)

& free from the besetting sin of our Confederacy, *drunkenness*. Generally[,] you know, they are very temperate. If once you can lead them into action, & be *successful*, you will be as *popular* as you are now unpopular. They say now, it is Beauregard who is drawing them forth, & under him they expect to fight."¹² The Lafourche district quickly produced some eight companies, of which six went into a regiment organized at Berwick Bay and New Orleans in April, 1862, and denominated the Twenty-Sixth Louisiana.¹³

Besides calling for Confederate volunteers, the commencement of the war in April, 1861, had brought to life the question of local home defense. The existing militia organization rested upon an act of 1853 which grouped the parishes of the state into five divisions, each containing two brigades. Assumption and Lafourche Parishes, together with the River parishes of St. Charles, St. John the Baptist, St. James, and Ascension, comprised the first brigade of the second division. In defiance of geography, Terrebonne was grouped with the Teche parishes and three River parishes north of Ascension to form the second brigade. The first brigade was commanded by Brigadier General R. C. Martin (1813-1881) of Albemarle Plantation, the Assumption regiment by Colonel W. W. Pugh (1811-1906) of Woodlawn Plantation. The aggregate nominal strength of the regiments of the Lafourche district in 1859 was 1,660 officers and men in Assumption, 1,816 in Lafourche, and 1,212 in Terrebonne. Attached to some of the regiments were volunteer corps of cavalry or artillery.

¹² Elise Bragg to General Braxton Bragg, March 3, 12, 1862, Bragg Papers (Archives Collection, The Library of the University of Texas.) These Bragg Papers, some twenty-six pieces, are letters of Elise to her husband, 1855-1863. Mrs. Bragg's punctuation stops, sometimes periods and sometimes dashes of varying length, have all been transcribed as periods.

¹³ Winchester Hall, *The Story of the 26th Louisiana Infantry, in the Service of the Confederate States* (n. p., ca. 1891), 1-5, 151-153, 170-186, 193-199, 210-228. At this time a company from Lafourche Parish joined the Thirtieth Louisiana Volunteers. *Ibid.*; Napier Bartlett, *Military Record of Louisiana* . . . (New Orleans, 1875), Pt. II, 25. The "Darden Rangers," Captain Albert G. Cage, also principally from Lafourche, became Co. F in Woods' Cavalry Regiment. Elise Bragg to Braxton Bragg, April 15, 1862, Bragg Papers; service records of A. G. Cage and Richard G. Ellis, Jr., Andrew B. Booth (comp.), *Records of Louisiana Confederate Soldiers and Louisiana Confederate Commands* (3 vols., in 4, New Orleans, 1920), II, 214, 771.

The "Donaldsonville Cannoneers" of Ascension ranked with the "Washington Artillery" of New Orleans as the best corps in the state. In 1859 there were two companies of "Chasseurs" in St. James; within the Lafourche district were the "Lafourche Dragoons," Captain R. G. Darden, and the "Houma Rifles," Captain Joseph Aycock.¹⁴ On paper these militia forces appeared ample for home defense. Unfortunately, the organization which existed on paper did not exist in effective flesh. Some of the volunteer companies were active, at least by fits and starts, but the regular militia gave few if any signs of life.

For the first six months after the war began the movement for home defense appears to have taken the form of getting up neighborhood volunteer companies. The story of one such company may be gleaned from the diary of A. Franklin Pugh (1819-1883), a planter living on Boatner Plantation in Assumption Parish two and one-half miles below Napoleonville. On May 1, 1861, Pugh discussed a home company with his friend General Martin, the militia brigadier, and undertook a canvass of their vicinity. Results were at first disappointing. After a meeting at Rodrigue's store on Saturday, May 4, Pugh thought that thirty men would be obtained; but a meeting the next Tuesday to organize the "Home company for Home protection" was attended by not more than two or three persons and thus failed completely. Another meeting held at Blanchard's store on Sunday, May 12, evidently produced favorable results, for on Saturday, May 25, a company paraded in the pasture on Boatner Plantation.¹⁵

Pugh first recorded his own attendance on May 28; thereafter he went faithfully to weekly drills on Saturday. On July 13 he reported to drill "and returned after dark— We had the drum for the first time, which improved the marching considerably. We had the best turn out today, we have had in a long time thirty-odd being present—" On Aug-

¹⁴ Louisiana Adjutant General, *Annual Report*, January, 1858 (New Orleans, 1858), 5, 9-10, and January, 1860 (Baton Rouge, 1860), 5-6, 21-22.

¹⁵ Alexander Franklin Pugh, *Diary*, May 1, 2, 4, 7, 12, 25, 1861 (Department of Archives, Louisiana State University).

ust 17 the company, commanded by Captain William M. Marks, a school teacher, "resolved to form a company under the Laws of the State, Calling it self Hope Guards. Gen. Martin and Col. W. W. Pugh were present during the drill." On August 24 the officers received commissions, "and the non-commissioned officers were all elected. The comp[any] is now fully organized, counting 47 rank and file." Organization did not prove a tonic. Pugh feared September 14 that the "company will not last longer than a few weeks. It has but one above the legal number now, and none are joining, while the talk is that more will resign." His fears were not realized, however, for all but three showed up for drill October 5—the fullest attendance since the organization of the company. And company drill went on through the late fall.¹⁶

At the end of September, 1861, the governor of Louisiana issued an order intended to provide "effective organization" for the militia of the state.¹⁷ That the order met with at least a show of compliance in the Lafourche district appeared from a report in the Thibodaux *Sentinel* that the militia there was improving rapidly in military tactics, with attendance "generally large, and the officers faithful in the discharge of their duties."¹⁸ The Assumption regiment was apparently organized in battalions, one on the left (east) side of Bayou Lafourche and one or more on the right (west) side. Franklin Pugh's diary mentioned battalion drill on the left bank December 7 and 21, 1861, and January 18, 1862. The drill of December 21, in the pasture on Colonel W. W. Pugh's Woodlawn Plantation, was attended by five companies comprising about 150 men.

Under the governor's order persons attempting to evade

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, July 13, 20, 27, August 3, 10, 17, 24, 31, September 14, 28, October 5, 9, 19, 26, November 9, 23, 1861. Welman Francis Pugh, son of W. W. Pugh born October 30, 1847, observed October 10, 1861, that Mark's company drilled "very well according to my ideas, which are not matured." W. F. Pugh "Journal," 4, W. W. Pugh Papers (Archives Collection, The Library of the University of Texas).

¹⁷ Orders No. 1147, Headquarters Louisiana Militia, New Orleans, Louisiana, September 28, 1861, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. LIII, 744-745, or Ser. IV, Vol. I, 753.

¹⁸ *New Orleans Weekly True Delta*, November 16, 1861.

performance of militia duty were to be placed upon a black list and marked "as suspicious and enemies to the South." This coercive threat gave rise to an unhappy case in Assumption Parish. E. W. T. and Thomas S. Burbank, natives of New York and owners of Avon Plantation, informed the regimental commander, Colonel Pugh, that E. W. T. Burbank had been unjustly treated by the physician who refused to grant him a letter of exemption. Burbank, they said, was actually unfit for military duty. "I now place myself in you[r] hands onely [*sic*] wishing that you will do unto others as you would be done by."¹⁹ The reason for the Burbank brothers' excitement, although they did not say so, was a well-grounded fear that they would be regarded as "enemies to the South." The next year E. W. T. Burbank was to be arrested as a traitor.

The governor's effort to invigorate the militia was followed after four months by an act of the legislature prescribing numerous reforms. Rules to enforce performance of militia duty were made more stringent; the maximum term of active service was extended; volunteer companies were to be reconstituted and brought more closely under the control of the general officers; and divisional organization was dropped in favor of command by a single major general immediately under the governor and immediately over the brigadiers.²⁰ Elected to be major general was John L. Lewis, one-time mayor of New Orleans and veteran commander of the militia of the city.²¹

The new militia act had only begun to go into effect when Forts Henry and Donelson fell (February 6 and 16, 1862), sending shivers of unease the length of the Mississippi. During the ensuing weeks nearly all the Confederate troops at New Orleans, no matter how raw, were ordered northward

¹⁹ E. W. T. Burbank and Thomas S. Burbank to W. W. Pugh, November 14, 1861, W. W. Pugh Papers.

²⁰ Act No. 97, approved January 23, 1862, *Louisiana Acts*, 1861-1862, pp. 61-72. Some notion of the progress of the reorganization may be had from a notice in the *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, February 12, 17, 18, 19, 24, 1862.

²¹ For Lewis' ante-bellum career see John Smith Kendall, *History of New Orleans* (3 vols., Chicago and New York, 1922), I, 182-197, 217, 218.

to reënforce Beauregard.²² This loss obliged the commander of the defenses of New Orleans, Major General Mansfield Lovell, to requisition state volunteers and militia.²³ Governor Thomas O. Moore had already ordered one New Orleans brigade to report for active service, and three more were directed to hold themselves in readiness.²⁴

Concurrently with the preparations in New Orleans, the state commander of militia, Major General Lewis, ordered Brigadier General Martin of the Fifth Brigade (formerly First Brigade, Second Division) to call for sixteen companies of "Volunteers for State service" from the several parishes of the brigade. Each company was to comprise four commissioned officers, nine non-commissioned officers, and not less than sixty privates. Six companies were to come from Assumption Parish and five from Lafourche, while Ascension was to furnish two companies and the other three River parishes only one each; the orders did not explain the marked inequalities in the demands made upon the several parishes. If enough men had not volunteered within ten days, then numbers sufficient to make up the companies required of each parish were to be detached from the parish regiment.

In detailing men Martin was instructed to take "care to detach, as much as practicable, the greater number from those beats in the parishes, which have furnished the smaller number to the provisional army." These orders Martin embodied in his own General Orders No. 2, February 28, 1862, directing the colonels of his command to make the

²² *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 513, 561, 641, 647, 648, 823-847 *passim*, 864, 871, 877. Most of these documents may also be found in U. S. Navy Department, *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (30 vols. and index, Washington, 1894-1927), Ser. II, Vol. I. (Hereinafter cited as *Official Records . . . Navies*.)

²³ General Lovell's requisition to Governor Moore called for 10,000 men; apparently he secured not more than 5,000. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 513, 561, 595, 620, 648-649, 652, 832, 837, 847, 864; *Official Records . . . Navies*, Ser. II, Vol. I, 624; Louisiana Adjutant General [M. Grivot], *Annual Report*, December 10, 1862, in Napier Bartlett, *A Soldier's Story of the War Including the Marches and Battles of the Washington Artillery, and of Other Louisiana Troops* (New Orleans, 1874), 259; Louisiana Adjutant General, *Annual Report*, 1891 (New Orleans, 1892), 40-41.

²⁴ Orders No. 135, February 23, and No. 158, February 25, in New Orleans *Daily Crescent*, February 26, 1862.

detachments necessary to fill up the companies required from their regiments.²⁵ This onerous duty Colonel W. W. Pugh of Assumption had to perform in Napoleonville on March 13, 1862.²⁶ The sequel was most unfortunate, for after the detail had been made and reported there came a reply from militia headquarters that the men were needed only if armed, which they were not. According to Colonel W. W. Pugh, Commander of the Assumption Regiment, the incident "produced great demoralization among the militia and dissatisfaction with their Colonel, as they ignorantly attributed all their troubles to him and openly charged that the whole movement had its origin in a desire to force them into the Confederate, and not the state service as was represented by orders from Headquarters."²⁷ This was but the first of a series of grave misunderstandings between Governor Moore and the militia of the Lafourche district.

The unease of Louisianians in the early months of 1862 was not directed solely toward the north. The menace of an attack from the sea was known to be growing. The attack if it came would be aimed at New Orleans, and the Confederate defenses were designed to protect the city. Possible water or water-and-rail approaches to New Orleans, aside from the main approach up the River, were numerous and well-known. Several of the approaches bordered upon or traversed the Lafourche district. The first west of the mouths of the Mississippi was Barataria Bay (made famous by the pirate Laffite), which was protected by Fort Livingston, on Grand Terre Island. The next approach was Bayou Lafourche itself. A hostile force could ascend the Bayou to Raceland or to Lafourche Crossing and proceed thence by the railroad against New Orleans; or it might ascend all the way to Don-

²⁵ Newspaper clipping, R. C. Martin Papers (in private possession). The orders are dated Headquarters Fifth Brigade Louisiana Militia, Albermale, Louisiana, and signed by R. C. Martin, Jr., aide-de-camp. The third section enjoined obedience to Lewis' General Orders No. 5, which directed commanders of volunteer units to report names and residences of persons resigning from their units in order that such persons might be returned to the regular militia.

²⁶ A. F. Pugh, Diary, March 13, 1862: "Went up to Napoleonville, where they were detailing men for the army."

²⁷ Colonel W. W. Pugh to Brig. Gen. R. C. Martin, July 8, 1862, R. C. Martin Papers.

aldsonville and come out on the Mississippi. To prevent any such venture—and perhaps to meet a petition of Lafourche Parish for protection—a little work called Fort Guion had been erected on the lower Bayou in the fall of 1861.²⁸ West of Bayou Lafourche lay Bayou Grand Caillou, which also gave access by water to the rail line. Grand Caillou was blocked by Fort Quitman, a twin of Fort Guion. Quitman and Guion were earthworks extending “from swamp to swamp on either side of the bayous,” each garrisoned in January, 1862, with two companies supplied with two 32-pounders and 1,000 pounds or more of powder.

West of Lafourche and Grand Caillou, and more important than either, was Berwick Bay, entrance to the Teche and the Atchafalaya and the maze of waterways in the Atchafalaya Basin. From Berwick Bay it was possible not only to ascend the Teche but also to reach Red River and the Mississippi by water. Alternatively, Brashear City, on the east side of the Bay, could be used as a base of attack by railroad against New Orleans. Berwick Bay was protected by two works, Forts Berwick and Chène, built with assistance from the railroad company, which also worked with the military authorities to erect a telegraph line connecting Berwick Bay with Algiers.²⁹ Against attack from New Orleans or from the north the Lafourche district was without any defense save its very raw militia.

On the anniversary of Fort Sumter, April 12, 1862, the people of the Lafourche district had been at war for one year, or so they thought. The truth was that neither their minds nor their bodies yet knew the realities of war. Throughout 1861 the war to them remained a political crisis still open to quick and happy solution. War activities and war disloca-

²⁸ Historical Records Survey, Louisiana, *Inventory of the Parish Archives of Louisiana, No. 29 Lafourche Parish* (Baton Rouge, 1942), 7.

²⁹ *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 560, 574, 582, 583, 594, 774-775, 804-805, 819; extracts from the minutes of the board of directors of the New Orleans, Opelousas, and Great Western Railroad Company, May 22, August 27, September 10, 1861, in “Forfeiture of Lands Granted for Railroad Purposes,” *House Executive Document No. 101*, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., 42-43. For a summary of the general problem of the defense of New Orleans see Jefferson Davis Bragg, *Louisiana in the Confederacy* (Baton Rouge, 1941), 97-106.

tions existed, to be sure. But most of life at home ran in customary grooves, while sons and husbands gone to the distant war were few and their peril slight. Eighteen hundred and sixty-two was to bring home war in dreadful earnest, first in the form of ceaseless anxiety and hatred after the fall of New Orleans, then by enemy conquest of the Lafourche district itself.

On April 18, 1862, the mortar flotilla of the Federal fleet began to bombard the forts (Jackson and St. Philip) that guarded the Mississippi above its mouth; on April 24 the forts were passed; on April 25 New Orleans fell to the fleet without a fight; and on May 1 the city was occupied by Federal troops under Benjamin Franklin Butler of Massachusetts, major general commanding the Department of the Gulf.

For the Lafourche district the fall of "the City" was a blow stunning both by its suddenness and by its weight. What was worse, the fall of the Lafourche threatened to follow hard upon the fall of New Orleans. The River up to Baton Rouge passed immediately under control of the Federal fleet; thus Donaldsonville, at the head of Lafourche, was at the mercy of Federal guns. A force landed there to move down the Bayou could be met, if met at all, only by militia.

In Assumption Parish a mass meeting under the presidency of Miles Taylor, former member of the United States Congress, assembled on April 28 to consider the crisis. Taking for granted that "the country in the Delta of the Mississippi is without any adequate means of defense," and that the public enemy "may be soon in the military possession of Lower Louisiana," the meeting resolved that

all the local officers charged under existing laws with the preservation of the peace of the community and with the police of our slaves, and of the levees, are admonished of the necessity of an efficient administration and enforcement of all of those laws in the present state of things; and that they are hereby requested to exercise an increased vigilance and enregy [energy] in the administration and enforcement of the same, until they are hindered in the discharge of their

duties by the exercise or display of an opposing physical force.³⁰

Should the enemy take possession of the country, and "in violation of the laws and usages of war . . . fail to respect all the private rights of property under our laws . . . [then] all the members of this meeting urge every citizen [as an imperative public duty] to destroy all of the sugar or cotton held by him, or any other property he might have, which was liable to fall into the possession of the enemy, and could be made useful to him." Presumably the rights of property included the right to own slaves and to enjoy their undisturbed use; but upon this point the resolutions were not explicit. In conclusion the meeting ordered its resolutions to be published and recommended them to the "favorable consideration, of the people of the adjoining Parishes."³¹

The lower parishes, Lafourche and Terrebonne, which might have been momentarily more secure than Assumption, were in fact even more vulnerable. The reason was that the modest defenses of the Lafourche district, pointed toward the coast, and designed entirely with a view to blocking approaches to New Orleans, simply collapsed when the city fell by frontal attack. Mansfield Lovell, Confederate commander, was intent upon concentrating his forces. Believing that the enemy would, by seizing the railroad, cut off the garrisons of the coastal works, he ordered them to destroy their guns and join him with their small arms and supplies at Camp Moore on the Jackson railway seventy-eight miles above New Orleans. The troops from Berwick Bay were brought away "in a very creditable manner, but those at the other works became demoralized, disbanded, and returned to New Orleans."³²

³⁰ Undated newspaper clipping, presumably from the Napoleonville *Assumption Pioneer*, W. W. Pugh Papers. The committee that prepared the resolutions consisted of thirteen planters, seven Creoles and six Americans, including A. F. Pugh, Walter J. Pugh, and Colonel W. W. Pugh.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² General Mansfield Lovell to General S. Cooper, Adjutant and Inspector General, Richmond, Virginia, May 22, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 515. For later repetitions of the substance of this statement see *ibid.*, 567-656.

The apparent ease with which New Orleans fell, and the prompt removal of defending forces from the Lafourche district, must have produced in the people of that area misgivings about the commander responsible, even had he been trusted. And Lovell, the commander actually in question, had probably never excited much confidence. An official in the government of New York City until September, 1861, he had joined the Confederacy at the rank of major general and been assigned immediately to command Department No. 1, headquarters New Orleans. Jealousy and suspicion of him were, under the circumstances, only to be expected. Braxton Bragg, who felt the New Orleans command should have been his, conceded that Lovell was "very competent," but believed that he had waited to be bought and to see which side was likely to win.³³

Elise Bragg—who fairly matched her husband's celebrated censoriousness, and tended to look upon other Confederate generals as his unworthy rivals—wrote him March 12, 1862, that "Lovell is more & more distrusted persons are open & plain in the expression of their opinions of him—it will in time of danger, be followed by *open mutiny*." On April 20, while Forts Jackson and St. Philip were under Federal attack, she remarked that if the forts fell Lovell "had better look to his own life. When women say they hope he may be swung as high as Haman, *men* are not apt to be more punctilious. He has had every opportunity every resource & until lately when forced into it by public threatening has done nothing." After the catastrophe she heard, so she reported May 9, that Lovell was at Vicksburg "to enact another farce" like that at New Orleans; "his officers wont obey his orders, & threaten to shoot him. I wish they would." As a counterweight to the malice of Mrs. Bragg one must bear in mind that a court of inquiry found that Lovell could not

³³ Braxton Bragg to Thomas O. Moore, October 31, November 14, 1861, in G. P. Whittington (ed.), "Papers of Thomas O. Moore, Governor of Louisiana, 1860-1864," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XIII (January, 1930), 29-31. From Bivouac Plantation, October 13, 1861, Mrs. Bragg complained that Lovell had been given the "important command of two states" while Bragg was "confined to the petty province of Pensacola."

have prevented the enemy's passage of the forts, "with any means under his control," that once the forts were passed "the fall of New Orleans was inevitable and its evacuation a military necessity," and that Lovell's conduct had been in the main praiseworthy.³⁴

The evacuation of the coastal defenses west of the Mississippi by Lovell's orders had left the parishes of Lafourche and Terrebonne wide open to incursions, and Federal forces promptly prepared to make them. On May 1, the day New Orleans was occupied, Colonel James W. McMillan, Twenty-First Indiana Volunteers, debarked across the River in Algiers, assumed possession of the Opelousas Railroad, and quartered his regiment in its depot. Employees of the railroad refused to work under military authority, but McMillan met this problem by operating trains with soldier crews until the road was restored to the company on May 8. The company then began regular runs of mixed trains (freights with passenger cars attached) and "engaged in the transportation of troops and munitions of war along the whole line."³⁵ A few days later the telegraph lines radiating from New Orleans, including the one along the railroad to Thibodaux and Berwick Bay, and another to Donaldsonville, were placed under a military superintendent who worked vigorously to repair whatever damage they had suffered.³⁶

From Algiers as a base Colonel McMillan on May 5 went

³⁴ *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 642. The proceedings of the court occupy pages 554-654 in this volume. Also relevant is the report of a congressional investigation of the Confederate Navy Department, *Official Records* . . . *Navies*, Ser. II, Vol. I, 431-809.

³⁵ New Orleans, Opelousas, and Great Western Railroad Co., Eleventh Annual Report," January, 1863, in "Forfeiture of Lands Granted for Railroad Purposes," *House Executive Document* No. 101, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., 47; A. B. Seger to Maj. Gen. N. P. Banks, January 12, 1863, N. P. Banks Papers (The Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.), printed in the Fifteenth Company's *Annual Report*, January, 1867 (New Orleans, 1867), 9; George C. Harding, "Shifting Scenes from the Drama of the Late War," *Miscellaneous Writings* (Indianapolis, 1882), 270.

³⁶ George N. Carpenter, *History of the Eighth Regiment Vermont Volunteers* . . . (Boston, 1886), 37; G. G. Benedict, *Vermont in the Civil War* . . . (2 vols., Burlington, 1886-1888), II, 88-89. Apparently the Confederates had left the line to Berwick Bay open throughout, or at least as far west as Terrebonne Station. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 657.

the length of the railroad without meeting resistance.³⁷ At Berwick Bay he captured two small field pieces with ammunition, broke up a nascent military organization, and brought off two citizens who persistently insulted his troops.³⁸ Four days later Elise Bragg wrote her husband, then at Corinth, Miss.:

We have had several visits from the Yankees. On Wednesday [May 7] a detachment came to Thibodeaux searching for arms & ammunition. They brought a cannon but said it was unnecessary trouble as they could have taken the town with *brick-bats*. They asked for the keys of the court house & jail, broke upon [*sic*] several public halls in their search but otherwise were orderly [and] quiet, disturbed no private property or thing.

One of Mrs. [V.P.] Winder's negroes walked to the depot [at Terrebonne Station], & asked them to take him off. Mr. Beauvais [the railroad agent] seized him before them, & marched him back to his mistress. I don't envy him his punishment. They made her very angry by remarking, her new house was a delightful place to eat their summer dinners at. They say they will return in a little while to seize cattle. They can't stand *Texas* beeves & prefer *fat cows*. Every one near the depot is sending the stock back to the swamps. I dare say emboldened by no resistance whatsoever, they will prove very troublesome. What *we* are to do is the question.

³⁷ James Parton credits not McMillan but a party under J. B. Kinsman of Butler's staff with the "first dash" into the Lafourche country, the purpose being to rescue the families of Union men who had themselves already fled to New Orleans. At the courthouse in the "city of Lafourche" (evidently Thibodaux) Kinsman met the leaders of the district, who told him "We are united as one man against you," to which he responded that "if one more Union man is harmed in Lafourche, the town will be burned to the last shed." James Parton, *General Butler in New Orleans* (4th ed., New York, 1864), 561-562, 583. This story, which Parton presumably picked up in talks with Butler and his staff in 1863, is in substance not implausible, but contemporary confirmation is wanting.

³⁸ General B. F. Butler to E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War, May 8, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 506. Negroes assisted in turning up a modest cache of military equipment at Des Allemands. Harding, *Miscellaneous Writings*, 270. Harding adds that "whatever success attended our scouting and foraging expeditions, was mainly due to the alacrity with which the darkeys gave us information. They almost universally showed themselves willing and anxious to benefit us in every possible way."

We can get nothing from the City, & no place is provided with provisions. The households have no supplies. We have no rice, flour &c &c—as those are merely personal privations, they do not concern us.³⁹

Even as Mrs. Bragg wrote, Colonel McMillan was back in the Lafourche district on a special mission. Detraining with sixty-five men at Terrebonne Station the evening of May 8, he commanded mules and carts and proceeded during the night some twenty or twenty-five miles through the heart of Terrebonne Parish and down Bayou Grand Caillou, where he captured what he had come for, the blockade runner *Fox*, laden with fifteen tons of gun powder, medicines, quick-silver, and stores.⁴⁰

McMillan's visit had for Terrebonne a most bitter aftermath.⁴¹ According to the Federal version, McMillan's downward passage through Houma about 2 a.m. May 9 was followed later in the morning by a meeting of the Terrebonne militia to decide upon a means of thwarting McMillan. The meeting broke up without accomplishing its purpose. Late that afternoon or the next afternoon, however, four of McMillan's soldiers returning to the railroad in wagons were way-laid by a small armed band just south of Houma. Butler reported that the soldiers were sick and lay asleep in the wagons; but they also carried dispatches. Two of them were killed and two wounded, one of the wounded being captured. The dead were, by Federal account, "brutally and disgustingly abused" and then buried in a shallow hole "directly in front of the court-house, and in the most frequented place of the town." The captured man was kept in jail for the night

³⁹ Elise Bragg to Braxton Bragg, March 9, 1862, Bragg Papers.

⁴⁰ B. F. Butler to E. M. Stanton, May 16, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 424; Harding, *Miscellaneous Writings*, 274-282. Cf. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 656-658; *Private and Official Correspondence of General Benjamin F. Butler during the Period of the Civil War* (5 vols., Norwood, Mass., 1917), II, 99.

⁴¹ Except as otherwise indicated, the four paragraphs following are based upon Butler to Stanton, June 1, 1862, and Lt. Col John A. Keith to General B. F. Butler, May 22, 1862, with enclosures, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 447-448, 450-457. The story of Keith's punitive expedition is recounted with great relish in Parton, *General Butler in New Orleans*, 563-565. "Seldom, in the annals of warfare, do we find an account of a piece of work better done." In the same vein is Duganne, *Twenty Months in the Department of the Gulf*, 54.

"in the same cell with a negro under sentence . . . to the State prison for life." Next morning he was disarmed and released on parole. The other wounded soldier was, after various adventures, reclaimed on May 11 by a party from his regiment sent to Thibodaux for that purpose.

Federal forces of retribution, some 300 men under Lieutenant Colonel John A. Keith of McMillan's regiment, arrived in Houma at 10 a.m. May 12. Keith found the town "almost deserted, at least three-fourths of the citizens having fled upon the previous day, many of them taking such of their effects as they could readily move," others leaving all behind.⁴² The people who had not fled would not talk. To overcome their reluctance Keith issued May 14 a proclamation declaring that unless the "murderers" were named and their hiding places revealed within forty-eight hours

not a vestige of the town of Houma shall be left to identify its former location, and the plantations in the parish of Terre Bonne shall suffer in like degree.

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The United States troops will quarter in Terre Bonne Parish until these murderers are brought to justice or it becomes evident they cannot be found; in which case prominent citizens of Houma, known to have been sympathizers, some of whom have already been arrested, will be publicly executed as murderers.

The proclamation produced information or misinformation to satisfy Keith. Among the active participants were said to be Albert Wood (evidently Thomas A. Woods), lawyer, editor of the Houma *Ceres*; Frank W. Gatewood, a small planter who had killed his brother-in-law in Assumption Parish the year before;⁴³ J. L. Jennings, a local physician; the sons of

⁴² A year later the colonel of a New York regiment observed that Houma looked "somewhat like a deserted village." Nott, *Sketches in Prison Camps*, 28.

⁴³ A. F. Pugh, *Diary*, March 13-16, 1861; Mrs. E. S. Gatewood to W. W. Pugh, April 5, 1861, W. W. Pugh Papers.

J. B. Bond, a planter interested in politics;⁴⁴ an overseer and a carpenter from the plantation of George F. Connelly, member of the convention of 1861; the deputy clerk of court; and a grocer's son, a planter's son, a blacksmith, and an ex-lieutenant.⁴⁵

When Keith descended upon Connelly's Mulberry Farm in search of one of the "murderers" he was defiantly told by Connelly's family that they

were deeply interested in the rebellion; that they were anxious for the frustration of the object of Colonel McMillan's expedition; that with their consent and approbation the men on their estate had engaged in the attempt to defeat him; that with their knowledge and assistance the men had eluded our pursuit; that they held no allegiance to the . . . United States, and neither desired nor claimed its protection. Thereupon the mules, cattle, and horses belonging to the plantation . . . were taken and conveyed to Houma.

In the end, none of the "murderers" could be found. Keith therefore had to content himself with burning the dwellinghouse, sugar house, Negro cabins, and all other buildings on Bond's Crescent Plantation, and seizing the plantation stock; destroying the *Ceres* shop and dumping the type into the bayou; and burning the residence of the deputy clerk and the residence and library of Dr. J. L. Jennings. Most of the other "guilty parties" possessed no property.

⁴⁴ J. B. Bond to W. W. Pugh, October 14, 1861, W. W. Pugh Papers.

⁴⁵ Bond and Connelly, and Colonel J. B. Robinson, who had been active "in inciting parties to go in pursuit of Colonel McMillan's force," were planters of large property: Bond, \$52,000 in real estate, \$137,400 in personal estate, 115 slaves in 1860; Connelly, \$66,000 in real estate, \$208,000 in personal estate, 94 slaves; Robinson, \$120,000 in real estate, \$157,600 in personal estate, 89 slaves. All or nearly all the other persons mentioned were young men: Woods, twenty-seven in 1860; Gatewood, twenty-two; Jennings, twenty-nine; Bond's two sons, fourteen and twenty-one; Connelly's overseer, thirty-one; the deputy clerk (a native of Guadeloupe), twenty-four; the planter's son (whose father was a native of Maine), nineteen; and the blacksmith, twenty-six. U. S. Eighth Census, 1860, manuscript returns for Terrebonne Parish of Schedule 1, Free Inhabitants, Families No. 75, 163, 189, 194, 212, 260-262, 312, 322, and Schedule 2, Slave Inhabitants, pp. 15-17, 17-18, 23. (Returns of both schedules in The National Archives; microfilm copies in The Library of the University of Texas.)

The brick parish jail in which the Federal prisoner had been degraded by incarceration with a Negro was battered to the ground. The United States flag raised atop the courthouse was to remain flying "under penalty of the destruction of the town in case of its removal." Keith revoked his proclamation threatening execution of hostages and departed May 17, taking with him fourteen hostages and an assortment of live stock including mules worth \$15,000 or \$20,000.⁴⁶

The Houma incident displayed vividly the abject helplessness of the Lafourche district; and its tone of terrorism was well calculated to convince the people that any attempt to organize resistance would be brutally crushed before it could become effective. The example sank home. Though depredations by Federal forces were soon to be stopped temporarily, all efforts to prepare a stout defense against invasion and occupation were to be impeded by a gnawing sense of futility and an expectation of swift and harsh retribution.

An abortive Confederate plan to rally the Lafourche district followed close upon the Houma incident. Lovell wrote Governor Moore May 17 that he had ordered "one good company" (apparently of the Thirtieth Louisiana) to proceed from Camp Moore to Thibodaux if they could cross the River. Once in the Lafourche the company might secure support from forces west of Berwick Bay and provide a nucleus around which militia and partisan rangers could gather. It would then be possible to destroy the railroad "and clear out the small parties of the enemy who are roving through that portion of the State with a careless impudence that is astonishing."⁴⁷ Actually the company was not sent, no gathering of local forces took place, and none of the three or more per-

⁴⁶ The hostages included the sheriff and the parish recorder; two sons of W. J. Minor, one of the great planters of the South; two planters of rather modest property; two merchants; and a physician, a grocer, and a livery-stable keeper. The detention of the Minors, and presumably of the others, lasted only a few days. *Ibid.*, Schedule 1, Families No. 183, 184, 186, 213, 219, 384, 841, and Schedule 2, pp. 28-29, 45; J. Carlyle Sitterson, "The Transition from Slave to Free Economy on the William J. Minor Plantations," *Agricultural History*, XVII (October, 1943), 216-217.

⁴⁷ *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 739.

sons authorized to recruit partisan rangers succeeded in doing so.⁴⁸

Governor Moore at Opelousas had in the meantime reported to President Jefferson Davis the Federal capture of the *Fox* and Keith's taking of citizens as hostages from Terrebonne. These misfortunes were traceable, Moore implied, to premature withdrawal of the Confederate garrison from Fort Quitman on Grand Caillou. The evacuation of the fort had, moreover, been so mismanaged that the officers responsible ought to be cashiered or shot. Instead of saving munitions, they had spiked the guns and dumped the powder into the bayou eleven days before the first appearance of the enemy.⁴⁹ Part of Moore's letter, without signature, was sent to Lovell for comment. To the complaint concerning the withdrawal of the garrison Lovell replied that it was true the enemy did not go down at once, but if the men had been left in the fort the enemy most certainly could have taken them any day. To a charge that the Lafourche district had been left wide open to the enemy, with railroad and telegraph uninterrupted, Lovell answered:

I had no force to protect the people in that district of country, but sent an officer to raise a partisan corps for that purpose, yet the prominent citizens earnestly entreated that the corps should not be raised there unless I could send a large body of troops to protect them from the additional outrages to which they would be subject from the Yankees for having raised such a corps. Having no large force to send, and objections being raised to a small one, I countermanded the order.

The fact is that that part of the country is inhabited by two classes of people—the rich, fearful of their property and

⁴⁸ One of those who sought to raise a partisan company was Thomas A. Woods, mentioned in connection with the Houma incident; another was F. S. Goode, also of Terrebonne, who had been a "secession" candidate for the convention in 1861 and was to be attorney general of Confederate Louisiana in 1864. *Ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 739, 741, 773, Vol. LIII, 814; Captain J. A. McWaters to Brig. Gen. R. C. Martin or Colonel W. W. Pugh, August 5, 1862, R. C. Martin Papers.

⁴⁹ Thomas O. Moore to Jefferson Davis, May 21, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 657-658, Vol. XV, 740-741.

not anxious to resist unless supported by an army in every parish; and the poor, miserable mixed-breed, commonly called Dagos or Acadians, on whom there is not the slightest dependence to be placed . . . When I urged that the bridges over [*sic*] the railroad be destroyed, a parish delegation entreated that it be not done, as it would bring down upon them Yankee vengeance. . . . Moreover, if the railroad had been destroyed, the stage of water was such that free access could have been had to Thibodeaux through Bayou La Fourche. I therefore concluded, at the request of many of the most influential citizens, to delay operations until the subsiding water should have deprived the enemy of the means of entering the interior at pleasure.

Had a contrary course been pursued the whole country would have been devastated without a possibility of preventing it. Nine out of every ten persons from that part of the country warmly approved of my decision.⁵⁰

Lovell's decisions were certainly defensible, and from the point of view of his whole command they may have been wise. But his argument was deceptive because he glossed over the sequence of events and overestimated the enemy. When New Orleans was falling his purpose was to save his troops in the Lafourche district for employment on the east side of the River. If he had actually been troubled about the Bayou country, he could have made dispositions promising a very fair chance of warding off any attack the enemy was willing to try at once. Instead he chose evacuation. After the spectacle of retiring garrisons, partly demoralized, after enemy incursions, and after a liberal dose of terrorism, it was not astounding that among the people the prudential spirit overbore the heroic. The passivity and fear that Lovell encountered when he tried to rally the Lafourche country in mid-May were in no small measure a result of his abandonment of the country three weeks before.

Discouraging the enemy from making free of the Lafourche district was to prove much easier, however, than might have

⁵⁰ General Mansfield Lovell to G. W. Randolph, Secretary of War, June 19, 1862, with an indorsement by Jefferson Davis, *ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 656-657.

been expected. Butler did not feel strong enough to disperse large forces permanently outside New Orleans, and professed himself averse to temporary seizures because the Confederates would destroy the property of innocent owners in advance of a Federal march, and because at any place taken and then left by his men "a few ruffians come in and maltreat every person who has not 'scowled at the Yankees.'" ⁵¹ With Butler in this cautious and humane frame of mind, a company of Louisiana state troops from west of Berwick Bay managed a counter-stroke along the railroad. On May 26 the St. Martin Rangers, Captain E. W. Fuller,

acting under orders of the general commanding the ninth brigade of Louisiana militia, came to the Bayou Boeuf crossing, took possession of the down train, came down to Jefferson station [nine miles above Algiers], took up a portion of the track, and returned to Berwick's bay, taking with them the rails, and picking up on their way all the rolling stock between that point and Brashear City, [amounting to three locomotives and about half the passenger and freight cars of the railroad,] together with most of the freight at the way stations and that in transit by the trains, and burning the draw of the Des Allemands bridge, the permanent bridge over the Lafourche, and a portion of that over the Boeuf. ⁵²

Fuller's troops also cut the Mississippi River levee some thirteen miles above Algiers. The intended inundation of part of the railroad was apparently achieved, but Butler reported the crevasse soon under control. ⁵³

An incidental fruit of Fuller's raid was the capture of James W. Connelly, lieutenant in the Twenty-First Indiana. Connelly hit upon a hazardous time to fall into Confederate hands, for Governor Moore and Southerners generally were by then in a state of apoplectic fury at Federal behavior in

⁵¹ B. F. Butler to E. M. Stanton, June 1, 1862, *ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 448-449.

⁵² New Orleans, Opelousas, and Great Western Railroad Company, "Eleventh Annual Report," January, 1863, *House Executive Document* No. 101, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., 47.

⁵³ Louisiana Adjutant General, *Annual Report*, December 10, 1862, in Bartlett, *Washington Artillery*, 256; Harding, *Miscellaneous Writings*, 273; *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 449.

Louisiana as directed by General Butler, whose execution of William B. Mumford, promulgation of the "Woman Order," and other provocative acts were thought to prove him a malevolent beast reveling in calculated violations of law and decency.⁵⁴ When Connelly was brought to Opelousas, the temporary state capital, Governor Moore wrote President Davis that the prisoner had been

conspicuous in burning the property of our citizens in Terre Bonne Parish, and has exhibited a fiendish alacrity in executing the atrocious orders of Butler and his subordinate officers. In retaliating for this brutal murder of Mumford, which I take for granted will be done, it occurs to me that no more propitiatory sacrifice to his memory can be made than the condemnation of Connelly to the same death. Among the first orders to be executed by the new general whom you will send to us will, I hope, be this necessary severity.⁵⁵

Fortunately, in spite of Moore's proposal and a later proclamation by Davis outlawing Butler and the officers of his command,⁵⁶ no retaliation was actually carried out against Connelly nor other subordinates of Butler whom the Confederates captured.

Shortly after Fuller's raid, the Eighth Vermont Volunteers replaced the Twenty-First Indiana at Algiers. Whether from ill luck or incompetence, the Vermonters were to make a sorry showing in comparison with their Hoosier predecessors. Yet they started off happily enough with an unopposed excursion by three companies to Thibodaux early in June.

Few people were to be seen in the streets on their arrival, stores were closed and blinds shut on dwelling-houses, and Confederate soldiers, if there had been any, as well as civilians, had apparently deserted the place. . . . [The major] found an iron foundry containing models and patterns for manufacturing arms, which he destroyed. Then, marching his command to the outskirts of the town, he came upon a

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 426, 469, 509, 743-744; Parton, *General Butler in New Orleans*, 322-354; Bragg, *Louisiana in the Confederacy*, 106-111.

⁵⁵ Thomas O. Moore to Jefferson Davis, June 12, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 754.

⁵⁶ Proclamation of December 23, 1862, *ibid.*, 906-908.

young ladies' seminary, from the windows of which peered the eager faces of the schoolgirls, intent on getting a good look at the terrible Yankees. . . . [Here] a halt was ordered, while the band was directed to discourse sweet music for the delectation of the curious maidens of Dixie Land. Having thus paid a delicate compliment to their pretty auditors, the men gave three cheers for the "sweet girl graduates," three more for the dear old flag, and marched away to the strains of "Yankee Doodle." On the return an old cannon, which the enemy had hidden away, was discovered, and the boys brought it home as a trophy.⁵⁷

In the third week of June the last Federal troops on Lafourche—evidently a detachment of the Eighth Vermont at the Crossing—were withdrawn, Des Allemands became the Federal outpost, and the railroad company stopped running trains beyond that point.⁵⁸ The wisdom of the withdrawal was soon confirmed by the misfortune that befell a party of thirty of the Eighth Vermont sent out by rail from Des Allemands toward Bayou Lafourche. Near Raceland Station a sergeant and six men were set afoot and the engine and car cautiously backed along behind them. Suddenly Confederates hidden in wild cane along the roadbed sent a volley of buckshot into squad and train. Other Confederates began tearing up the track. The Federals returned the fire, got the train reversed before it could be trapped, and hastened back to Des Allemands, taking with them two dead, including the

⁵⁷ Carpenter, *Eight Vermont*, 57. Writing presumably from memory about 1886, Carpenter assigns the visit to mid-September, 1862, which is impossible; it is correctly placed in June by Benedict, *Vermont in the Civil War*, II, 93. Carpenter is probably wrong also in saying that the companies crossed Bayou des Allemands in boats and "followed" (i. e., marched along) the railroad track to Lafourche Crossing. The rail crossing at Des Allemands was restored by a temporary work on May 31, and trains were occasionally run as far west as Lafourche Crossing until June 17. *Ibid.*, II, 89-90; New Orleans, Opelousas, and Great Western Railroad Company, "Eleventh Annual Report," January, 1863, *House Executive Document* No. 101, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., 47; New Orleans, Opelousas, and Great Western Railroad Company, [Fifteenth] *Annual Report*, January, 1867, 9-10.

⁵⁸ The company continued to operate between Algiers and Des Allemands until July 1, when the road passed under "the exclusive management and control of the military authorities of the United States." It was returned to the company February 1, 1866. New Orleans, Opelousas, and Great Western Railroad Company, "Eleventh Annual Report," *House Executive Document* No. 101, 47-48; New Orleans, Opelousas, and Great Western Railroad, [Fifteenth] *Annual Report*, 5-10.

fireman of the engine, and nine wounded. Three dead they left behind on the track.⁵⁹ Confederate casualties were two wounded.⁶⁰

The episode at Raceland Station on June 22, 1862, marked the definite closing of the railroad into the Lafourche district. With that route blocked, the only remaining practicable entryway for the Federals was Bayou Lafourche itself. On May 31 a Federal gunboat had ventured a short distance down from Donaldsonville, but none came after, and by early August the Bayou was too low for gunboats to enter.⁶¹ A soldier's wife reported to her husband on July 1 that every one "within her circle of acquaintance was well, the Bayou within its banks[,] the Yankees all gone."⁶² The Lafourche country was to have four months to make ready for a real attack.

⁵⁹ Benedict, *Vermont in the Civil War*, II, 94-95; Carpenter, *Eighth Vermont*, 50-51.

⁶⁰ W. F. Pugh, "Journal," June 23, 1862. Testimony about the identity of the Confederates at Raceland is surprisingly conflicting. Benedict says they were a militia company under Captain R. G. Darden. Louisa (Mrs. John) Williams to Mary Williams Pugh, July 3, [1862], R. L. Pugh Papers (Department of Archives, Louisiana State University), speaks of them as Texans. Actually they seem to have been members of Lt. Col. V. A. Fournet's Yellow-Jacket Battalion from the Teche. Louisiana Adjutant General, *Annual Report*, December 10, 1862, in Bartlett, *Washington Artillery*, 256, 258; William B. Ratliff to General R. C. Martin, June 26, 1862, R. C. Martin Papers.

⁶¹ W. F. Pugh, "Journal," 15, June 1, 1862; A. F. Pugh, *Diary*, May 31, 1862, July 17-August 8, 1862, *passim*.

⁶² Mrs. George W. Pugh to George W. Pugh paraphrased in R. L. Pugh to Mary Williams Pugh, July 10, 1862, R. L. Pugh Papers.

Frances Benjamin Johnston and Her Views of Uncle Sam

By JOHN C. L. ANDREASSEN

Director, State Archives and
Records Commission

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH of Frances Benjamin Johnston should probably be done in the manner of the "Profiles" in the *New Yorker*;¹ however, all that is attempted here, is to place these eight photographs of Uncle Sam Plantation in appropriate setting. The photographs were made in 1938, just before the demolition of the structures portrayed.

Every now and then, some person who has completed a normal lifetime of considerable achievement, takes a new lease on life and with something akin to genius, energetically starts off on a campaign, nay, a crusade, which leads to phenomenal accomplishment. Such was to be the experience of Frances Benjamin Johnston, beginning in her sixty-third year.

Miss Johnston (1864-1952) was born in Grafton, West Virginia, spent her childhood and youth there, in Rochester, New York, and in Washington, D.C. She received her formal education at Notre Dame Convent in Govanston, Maryland. She then studied art at the Academie Julien in Paris, and upon her return to the United States in 1885 studied at the Art Student's League in Washington.

It would appear that her first job was to serve as a substitute for a friend who had been the Washington correspon-

¹ This biographical note is based in large part on a re-study of the Library of Congress Frances Benjamin Johnston File. This file has been placed on one roll of 16 mm. microfilm and one roll of 35 mm. film.

dent for a New York newspaper. The job involved the interviewing of personalities and the provision of an accompanying sketch to illustrate the article. The idea that an accompanying photograph would help to sell more articles caused her to write George Eastman, requesting that he send her a camera which would take good pictures for newspapers.²

Something of a novelty, the young girl photographer was soon accepted as a professional. Personality, appearance, drive, and some degree of gall soon gave her the status of an unofficial "Court" photographer. She gained and had constant access to the White House through the administrations of Harrison, Cleveland, McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft. Some of her photographs were taken under conditions bordering on the fantastic, at least for most young ladies of the period. For just one example, it was "Miss Frances" who climbed high into the scaffolding to photograph the Main Reading Room of the Library of Congress before the dome was installed!³

Her experiences with the elder "Papa" Lumier as a photographic judge at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis in 1904 was recounted many times in her later years. She was probably the first to photograph President McKinley after he had been shot. Another highlight for her was the "ball" she had when, for New York papers, she photographed the American fleet in Naples on the way home from Dewey's victory in Manila Bay. Thousands of her photographs were used to illustrate her own news stories and articles and those of others.

Hers were some of the first picture stories. Many were published by Edward W. Bok in the *Ladies Home Journal*. Her subjects were of a surprising variety. She pictured the miner at work in open pits and under-ground and the laborer in mills and factories. She achieved success in illustrating construction activities and labor conditions, and her portrait

² Paul Vanderbilt, Consultant in Iconography, Library of Congress, prepared a 15 page typescript summary of Miss Johnston's life and contributions in 1953. It is to be found on the microfilm mentioned in footnote 1, *supra*.

³ Library of Congress, *News Letter*, II (May 19, 1952), 17.

work indicated a refusal to follow the older patterns. Her early interest in flowers, gardens, and landscaping led her to use color photography as early as 1908.

Apparently, her first architectural commission was received from John M. Carrère to photograph the New Theater in New York upon its completion in 1909. This led to further commissions from such architectural greats as Bertram G. Goodhue, John Russell Pope, and Cass Gilbert. During the 1920's she photographed the ornate palaces of American millionaires, including gardens and interiors. Among her patrons were the Vanderbilts and the Goulds, the Whitneys and the Astors.

Then came a commission from Mrs. Daniel B. Devore of Fredericksburg, Virginia, who had recently renovated and restored her estate, Chatham. While performing a systematic photographic survey of this estate, the trained mind and practiced eye of "Miss Frances" seemed to have turned to plans for what was to become her crowning achievement. There had been some photographic documentation of the manor houses of the South, but no such documentation of mills, cabins, small stores, taverns, barns, outbuildings, wagon sheds, cotton presses, corn cribs, meat houses, and tobacco-curing barns which were rapidly crumbling away.⁴ Hoping to record for posterity these remnants of a fleeting age with her camera, she discussed her plans with Mrs. Devore. In 1927, at the age of 63, Miss Johnston obtained a commission to do a photographic survey of Fredericksburg, Old Falmouth, and the vicinity "to preserve something of the atmosphere of an old Virginia town."

The 144 pictures resulting from this survey were exhibited in the Fredericksburg Town Hall, and in 1929 they were placed on display in the Library of Congress. Many more surveys were to be recorded on the pattern of this Fredericksburg survey. Concentrating first on Virginia, the surveys

⁴ See, for example, Thomas T. Waterman, *The Early Architecture of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 1941), 3-18.

Illustrations

Fig. 14—Uncle Sam Plantation House.

Fig. 15—Uncle Sam Plantation House and Upriver Garconnière.

Fig. 16—Upriver Garconnière and Uncle Sam Plantation House.

Fig. 17—Upriver Garconnière.

Fig. 18—Downriver Garconnière.

Fig. 19—Office, Pigeonnier.

Fig. 20—Kitchen.

Fig. 21—Pigeonnier.

Uncle Sam Plantation













were to expand until she had recorded much of the early architectural remains in certain southern states. She was assisted by hundreds of individuals, many institutions, and by a series of grants from the Carnegie Foundation which were administered by the Library of Congress. At the formal conclusion of the survey in 1943, the Library of Congress recorded some 7500 negatives by states as follows: Maryland, 490; Virginia, 2980; North Carolina, 2131; South Carolina, 625; Georgia, 446; Florida, 172; Alabama, 350; Mississippi, 78; and Louisiana, 407.⁵

Miss Johnston was made an honorary member of the American Institute of Architects in ceremonies held at the Louisiana State Museum on November 5, 1945. Her citation read in part: "an eminent layman, distinguished citizen, having signally contributed to the advancement of the profession of architecture of the United States."

Frances Benjamin Johnston died at the age of 88 on March 16, 1952, at her home, 1132 Bourbon Street, New Orleans.⁶ Her ashes were interred in Rock Creek Cemetery, Washington, D. C. The bulk of the product of her cameras for the last twenty-five years of her life is in the Library of Congress. Substantial collections of her work in negative and/or in prints can be found in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Virginia State Historical Society, the College of William and Mary, the University of Virginia, the Huntington Library, the Carnegie Institute, the Baltimore Museum of Art, the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, and the University of North Carolina.

⁵ Miss Johnston had a contract with the University of North Carolina Press to produce a Louisiana volume. She often spoke of it as a Lower Mississippi Valley volume. In August, 1951, when she had not found an architectural historian collaborator for this work and had found one for a Georgia book, priority was given to the latter. Samuel Wilson, Jr., has told this writer the Johnston photographs of Louisiana's early architecture do not provide enough coverage for full treatment of the State's architectural landmarks. Hence, an attempt at limited publication in this manner.

⁶ For an interview with Miss Johnston, at home at the age of 83, see Maud O'Bryan Ronstrom, "60 Years With a Shadow Box," in *The Times Picayune New Orleans States Magazine*, November 2, 1947, pp. 8-9.

Works in which the illustrations are all, or in substantial part, the product of Frances Benjamin Johnston's camera include:

Henry Irving Brock, *Colonial Churches in Virginia* (Richmond: The Dale Press, 1930)

Samuel G. Stoney, *Plantations of the Carolina Low Country* (Charleston: Carolina Art Association, 1938, 1945)

Thomas T. Waterman, *The Early Architecture of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941, 1947, 1959)

Thomas T. Waterman, *The Mansions of Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1946)

Thomas T. Waterman, *Dwellings of Colonial America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950)

Frederick Doveton Nichols, *The Early Architecture of Georgia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957).

The eight Johnston photographs of Uncle Sam Plantation structures which follow are indicative of the quality of her work. They were taken near the end of her active photographic survey of early Southern architecture. They are numbered in the Library of Congress collections, as follows: (14) 1391; (15) 1392; (16) 1395; (17) 1394; (18) 1396; (19) 1397; (20) 1398; (21) 1399.

Uncle Sam Plantation was located just up river from Convent in St. James Parish on the East Bank. In 1940, it was demolished to make way for levee changes.

The big house had not been lived in for very long periods since 1915, when the last descendants of the builder were forced to leave.⁷ As late as 1940 it was still considered the most complete set of plantation buildings extant. The complex consisted of a 100 foot square plantation house, surrounded by some 28 columns. On each side of the two-story house was a garconnière, one story in height. Just back of the big

⁷ Harnett T. Kane, *Plantation Parade, The Grand Manner in Louisiana* (New York, 1945), 168.

house were two smaller buildings spaced so that from the river road they could be seen between the house and the garconnières. That on the upriver side was used as the plantation office; that on the downriver side was used for the plantation kitchen. Two rows of Negro cabins stretched back to the rear, with the sugar house situated at the end of the downriver row of cabins. The cane fields stretched out north, south and east of the rectangle formed by the plantation buildings.⁸

E. H. Suydam's illustration of Saxon's *Old Louisiana*⁹ provide a lifelike view of Uncle Sam. Other sketches will be found in Stanley Arthur's *Louisiana Tours*,¹⁰ J. Frazer Smith's *White Pillars*¹¹ and Spratling-Scott's *Old Plantation Houses*.¹² A photograph of Uncle Sam by John Reinhard is to be found in Kane's *Plantation Parade*¹³ captioned "Uncle Sam: A Monument that None Would Save." The fullest collection of photographs noted to date in print is that contained in Clarence John Laughlin's *Ghosts Along the Mississippi*.¹⁴ The *Louisiana Guide* has one illustration attributed to the *New Orleans Item* which looks very much as if it were taken by Frances Benjamin Johnston, on the same day No. 6 of the pictures here presented, was taken. Her photograph of Greenwood on the same page has the following attribution "Francis [Sic] Benjamin Johnston: *New Orleans Item*."¹⁵

Uncle Sam was built during the 1840's by Pierre Auguste Samuel Fagot, known in most of the records of St. James

⁸ For a sketch of Uncle Sam Plantation in perspective see Kane, *Plantation Parade*, 160-161; for a plate of the plantation group see J. Frazer Smith, *White Pillars, Early Life and Architecture of the Lower Mississippi Valley Country* (New York, 1941), 201.

⁹ Lyle Saxon, *Old Louisiana* (New York, 1929), 301-302.

¹⁰ Stanley Clisby Arthur, *Louisiana Tours, A Guide to Places of Historic and General Interest, Where to Go, How to Go, What to See* (New Orleans, 1950), 44.

¹¹ Smith, *White Pillars*, 200.

¹² William P. Spratling and Natalie Scott, *Old Plantation Houses in Louisiana* (New York, 1927), 12.

¹³ Kane, *Plantation Parade*, 154-155.

¹⁴ Clarence John Laughlin, *Ghosts Along the Mississippi, An Essay in the Poetic Interpretation of Louisiana's Plantation Architecture* (New York, 1948), plates 69-73.

¹⁵ *Louisiana, A Guide to the State* (American Guide Series, New York, 1941), between 188, 189.

Parish as Samuel Fagot. It is said that he came from La Rochelle, France, and was definitely known to be in the Convent area in 1828. It is clear that he began acquiring land in St. James Parish during August, 1829.¹⁶ During the period before the first recorded instrument was filed by his widow, August 28, 1860, there are some 89 entries in the Conveyance Record Index, in which his name appears.¹⁷ In short, Samuel Fagot was a busy man in the acquisition of lands. Two significant instruments filed in the Courthouse at Convent are the terms of Fagot's partnership with Jean Joseph Jourdain, March 29, 1830.¹⁸ Two other significant documents are the succession documents of April 21, 1858, and January 1 of 1859.¹⁹

Samuel Fagot married Émilie Jourdain; of this union were born Marie Émilie Eugénie Fagot and Félicie Fagot. The former married Jacques Auguste Démophon and the latter married Lucien Malus. It was Malus who operated Uncle Sam following Samuel Fagot's death. The Malus' had two daughters, Émilie and Félicie. They married two brothers, Jules and Camille Jacob. In time, Camille sold out to Jules, who operated the place until he was forced to leave about 1915 when Uncle Sam was taken from him. Others operated the plantation for short periods. Obviously it was in operation when Suydam did his sketches in 1929.²⁰ Present title to the land and remaining cabins and out buildings appears to be in the Uncle Sam Plantation, Inc., which in recent years has leased its sugar lands to Mt. Airey-Uncle Sam Planting Company.²¹ Miss Johnston's photographs must now speak for themselves.

¹⁶ St. James Parish Conveyance Record, Book 11, p. 278.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Book 34, p. 61.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Book 11, p. 459; Book 18, p. 575.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Book 35, pp. 27-31.

²⁰ This account is based in part on the parish records, in part on such works as Kane and Laughlin, previously cited.

²¹ St. James Parish Conveyance Record, Book 101, p. 327; Book 104, pp. 138, 176; Book 105, p. 249.

Henry Stuart Foote: A Republican Appointee in Louisiana

By JOHN EDMOND GONZALES

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ON MAY 20, 1880, the New Orleans newspapers printed the notice of the death in Nashville, Tennessee, of the Superintendent of the United States Mint in New Orleans—Henry Stuart Foote. Thus the curtain fell on the career of one of the most colorful figures of nineteenth century America. Born in Virginia in 1804, Foote migrated as a young man to Alabama. Forced to leave Alabama after a few years, he began the journey to the West, to New Orleans, but he failed to reach his announced destination because he found Mississippi to be an inviting and exciting arena for the talents of an ambitious young lawyer-journalist-politician. He eventually reached New Orleans—but not until forty-eight years later.

During these intervening years, he became one of the best known "characters" in the nineteenth-century South. He served Mississippi as United States Senator (1847-1852) and Governor (1852-1854) and Tennessee as Confederate Congressman (1861-1865). A perpetual office seeker, he acknowledged allegiance at one time or another to every political party which appeared in the arena during his public life.¹

One newspaper editor characterized Foote's career in blunt

¹ John Edmond Gonzales, "The Public Career of Henry Stuart Foote, 1804-1880" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, the University of North Carolina, 1957).

language: "We do not say the General [Foote] hunted office or solicited office, but his bowels did certainly have a considerable yearning that way."² Previously the same newspaper had noted: "Planters who do not go to town more than twice a week invariably inquire, 'well, which side is General Foote on now!'"³ This paper will attempt to show how Foote secured what was to be his final appointment to public office from the last political party to which he acknowledged allegiance.

In 1859 Foote moved from Mississippi to Nashville, Tennessee, and remained a legal resident of that state until his death. As early as 1873, he had signified his intention of voting the Republican ticket in the next presidential election but did not align himself with the Republican Party in Tennessee until late 1875. Tennessee Republicans extended him a warm welcome. William G. "Parson" Brownlow praised him as "a brave generous man thoroughly attached to the union."⁴ At the state Republican convention, which met on August 24, 1876, to ratify the nominations of the national convention, Foote played a prominent role. He served on the resolutions committee and delivered one of the principal addresses. Foote, whose name had been mentioned frequently for state elector at large on the Republican ticket,⁵ was nominated for the post by acclamation. He now used his talents to denounce the Democrats in much the same manner that he had denounced the Republicans during the past sixteen years. He predicted success for the Republican ticket and praised the Republican nominees, Rutherford B. Hayes and William A. Wheeler. Samuel J. Tilden, the Democratic nominee, he branded as dishonest and corrupt, a nullifier, and a secessionist. The danger to the country Foote traced to one source: "the wicked machinations of unscrupulous men called Democrats," and he looked forward to debating the issues of the campaign with Tennessee Democratic lead-

² *Natchez Mississippi Free Trader and Natchez Daily Gazette*, August 28, 1838.

³ *Ibid.*, September 5, 1837.

⁴ *New York Times*, November 27, 1875, quoting the *Knoxville Chronicle*.

⁵ *Nashville Daily American*, August 22, 24, 1876.

ers.⁶ The opposition press in Tennessee, as expected, leveled its guns at Foote,⁷ who, with his checkered career, was a perfect target.

In early September both the Democrats and the Republicans announced joint speaking engagements for their respective electors, who would meet one opponent for a short period and then exchange opponents.⁸ The joint speaking tour did not begin until September 19; so Foote campaigned alone in early September.⁹ Mud-slinging characterized this campaign from the beginning for Foote had made too many enemies in Tennessee by his desertion of the Democrats¹⁰ and his denunciation of Andrew Johnson¹¹ to be treated with any degree of charity. His enemies attacked Foote more often on these two points than on any other. They also charged that he had been promised an office to change political sides.¹² Some opponents dismissed Foote as an old man in his dotage.¹³ In an effort to embarrass Foote, Democratic speakers quoted liberally from his campaign speeches against the Republicans in 1872,¹⁴ and his speeches favoring secession in east Tennessee in 1861.¹⁵ Foote's abuse of Tilden, they argued, was a way of avoiding the issues of the campaign.¹⁶

Foote's speeches usually followed a general pattern. First, he would defend his position in 1861, his activities during the war, and his abandonment of the Confederacy. Then he

⁶ *Ibid.*, August 25, 1876.

⁷ *Chattanooga Daily Times*, August 27, 1876; *Nashville Daily American*, August 31, 1876, quoting the *Knoxville Tribune*, the *Chattanooga Commercial*, the *Vicksburg Tribune*.

⁸ *Nashville Daily American*, September 2, 14, 1876.

⁹ *Chattanooga Daily Times*, September 10, 1876.

¹⁰ *Memphis Daily Appeal*, September 6, 1876, quoting the *Memphis Courier-Journal*; *Nashville Daily American*, September 6, 19, 1876.

¹¹ *Nashville Daily American*, September 3, 1876, quoting the *Knoxville Chronicle*, *Greenville Intelligencer*; *Nashville Daily American*, September 17, 21, 1876, quoting the *Knoxville Tribune*, September 15, 1876; *Chattanooga Daily Times*, September 23, 1876; *Memphis Daily Appeal*, September 28, 1876.

¹² *Nashville Daily American*, September 28, 1876.

¹³ *Nashville Daily American*, September 8, 1876, quoting the *Knoxville Chronicle*; *Nashville Daily American*, October 27, 1876.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, September 23, 1876, quoting the *Nashville Republican Banner*, February 16, 1876.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, September 12, 14, 19, 20, 1876.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, September 29, 1876, quoting the *Knoxville Age*.

would praise the Republican Party and its nominees. Foote declared that he severed his connections with the Democrats when the secessionists and Tammany Hall gained control of the party. He always pointed to what he called the insincerity of the Democratic platform and claimed that the Democrats had borrowed their proposals from the Republicans as a vote-getting device.¹⁷ Although seventy-two years of age, Foote campaigned as vigorously as when he was a young man in Mississippi. There was nothing he liked better than the heated debate of a presidential campaign and he was a veteran of twelve of them. Unable to see into the future, he did not know that this was to be his last opportunity to participate in the stirring events of a presidential election. Fortunately for Foote, he was on the victorious team this time.

The winter of 1876-1877 was a critical one in the country's history. Republican headquarters refused to concede Tilden's election on the grounds that the returns were in dispute in four states: Congress had received two sets of returns from the four disputed states. The issue was not settled until two days before inauguration. Such a situation, involving constitutional questions, was made to order for Foote, and he did not hesitate to air his views in public print.

In an article, published first in the Washington press several weeks after the election, Foote asserted that "the House of Representatives has the right to choose a president only when there is no choice by the people, and when three or more candidates are running"; hence, he denied that the House had the right to settle the Tilden-Hayes dispute. Foote also maintained "that the constitution explicitly invests each of the States with full power to appoint Presidential electors in such a manner as it shall choose, and that the decision of the Canvassing Board, by whatever name called, cannot be reopened, or reversed by any power on earth."¹⁸

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, September 16, 20, 27, 1876; *Daily Memphis Avalanche*, October 20, 1876; *Memphis Daily Appeal*, October 20, 1876.

¹⁸ *New York Times*, November 27, 1876; *New York Tribune*, November 27, 1876.

Again, on December 31, 1876, he stated publicly that he regarded the election situation as dangerous. The Tilden forces, he believed, would resort to war rather than allow Hayes to be inaugurated. Reviewing United States constitutional history, Foote asserted that there was no authority for Congress to "set aside any part of the votes thus certified and cause others to be substituted in their place." The founding fathers had intended "to keep the hands of Congress out of the election." Congress could only "provide some regulation as to the mode in which the electoral vote may be counted." Foote expressed satisfaction with the creation of a joint-committee of Congress for this purpose. He believed that Hayes had the majority of the electoral votes and urged all "conservatives of both sections to join hands against extremists" to bring peace under Hayes' direction. Foote expected Hayes to give the country the type of administration needed at this time.¹⁹

The decision of the Electoral Commission, awarding the disputed votes to Hayes, pleased the old campaigner. For the first time since 1852 he had supported the winner in a presidential contest. During the summer of 1877, Foote visited Tennessee and upon his return to the nation's capital reported "that almost everybody [in Tennessee] with whom he came in contact extolled the course of President Hayes to the skies."²⁰ Foote served as a member of the reception committee that made arrangements for President Hayes' visit to Nashville in 1877,²¹ and when Hayes arrived in Nashville on September 19, he rode in the second carriage with Mrs. Hayes, Secretary of State William M. Evarts and his daughter, Bettie.²² Thus Hayes recognized publicly Foote's pre-eminence in the Republican Party in Tennessee.

In Washington during the 1870's "a decrepit old gentleman with a fiery red head, almost entirely bald, and a sparse

¹⁹ Washington *National Republican*, January 2, 1877.

²⁰ Nashville *Daily American*, July 12, 1877, quoting the Washington *National Republican*.

²¹ *Ibid.*, September 13, 1877.

²² *Ibid.*, September 20, 1877; Henry McRaven, *Nashville, "Athens of the South"* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1949), 125.

beard entirely white leaning heavily on a stout gold-headed cane"²³ was a familiar sight. This old gentleman was Foote, now in his mid-seventies, and one of the last of the pre-war political figures still active on the American scene. Foote divided his time between Washington and Nashville; he liked to be at the scene of most activity. He often visited with his son-in-law and daughter, Senator and Mrs. William M. Stewart, who lived in Washington, but he always returned to Nashville for any important event.²⁴ He was a delegate from Davidson County at the Republican state convention, which met in Nashville in August, 1878,²⁵ and the convention honored him by electing him its permanent president. One delegate even tried to put his name in nomination for governor; Foote, however, gratefully declined to allow his name to be presented. But his position as permanent president gave him the much desired opportunity to address the convention—an address characterized by extravagant praise of the Republicans, and prolonged damnation of the Democrats. No one would want to exchange Hayes for Tilden, Foote declared, as he lavished praise upon the accomplishments of the Hayes administration.²⁶

Foote would have preferred to spend his last years in the United States Senate, but he was very happy when Hayes, on December 2, 1878, offered him the position of superintendent of the United States Mint at New Orleans, Louisiana. The Senate confirmed the nomination on December 18, 1878.²⁷ Tennessee Democrats had charged in the 1876 campaign that Foote was seeking a Federal job. This appointment was confirmation of that charge, but it should be noted that two years had elapsed before Foote received the appointment.

²³ Nashville *Daily American*, February 16, 1878.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, August 3, 1878.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, August 22, 1878.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, August 23, 1878.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, December 19, 1878. In order to hold this position Foote had to give a bond for \$25,000. His bondmen were Mrs. Myra Clark Gaines of New Orleans, and Frank Hereford of Union, West Virginia. They gave bond on December 19. By December 21 the bond had been examined and approved. Foote took the oath of office before a notary public on December 19. The bond has been preserved in the records of the United States Mint, National Archives.

Louisiana Republicans manifested great interest in the appointment of Foote to this post. The New Orleans *Daily Picayune* viewed Foote's appointment as further evidence that members of the old Republican machine in Louisiana were losing their influence with the Hayes administration.²⁸ Ex-Governor William Pitt Kellogg of Louisiana, the *Picayune* declared, had actively opposed the nomination of Foote to the post, and had refused, as a result of his failure to prevent confirmation, to have any further relations with the White House.²⁹ In an interview with a *Picayune* reporter, ex-Governor Michael Hahn of Louisiana and former Mint superintendent, denied that he had opposed Foote's confirmation.³⁰ Louisianians generally believed that Foote's friendship with Supreme Court Justice Noah H. Swayne, his past political record, and his family ties in the Senate had insured his confirmation.³¹ Louisiana Republican leaders welcomed Foote and secured for him a place at the head table at a banquet given by the Union Club at Antoine's to honor Kellogg on January 2, 1879. Foote was in the bosom of Louisiana Republicanism, surrounded by Kellogg, Hahn, Henry Clay Warmoth, and Benjamin Franklin Flanders. Foote, the *Picayune* reported, "personified the 'old man eloquent' when he referred to the millennium of the South, when it adopted Republican doctrines as its salvation." Foote declared the Republican Party to be "the party of law and order, the party of progress and the party of internal improvements."³²

In an attempt to counteract disapproval of his appointment by "one or two low minded scribblers of the Democratic Party," Foote forwarded to Secretary of the Treasury John Sherman "one of the numerous letters [he had] recently received from leading Republicans in New Orleans, showing their approval of the nomination."³³ "You are a Southern

²⁸ New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, December 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 18, 19, 1878; January 2, 1879.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, December 5, 6, 8, 1878.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, January 2, 1879.

³¹ *Ibid.*, December 4, 6, 1878.

³² *Ibid.*, January 5, 1879.

³³ Henry S. Foote to John Sherman, December 9, 1878, in United States Mint Records, National Archives.

man," the letter read, "one of us, whose every sympathy is in favor of Union plan and prosperity."³⁴ Foote anticipated no difficulty with the job or the people of the region.

On his way to New Orleans from Washington to assume his new post, Foote had stopped in Nashville to spend the Christmas holidays. But he did not linger in Nashville, because he was anxious to get settled in his new job before the end of the year.³⁵ To guide Foote in his direction of the Mint's activities, the Director of the Bureau of the Mint in Washington forwarded detailed instructions.³⁶ As to general policy, he wrote: "We desire your mint to open for receipt of deposits of Gold Bullion for coinage and silver purchases as soon as practicable. This may be done soon as you are ready to melt and assay."³⁷ In 1879, R. E. Preston, the recently-appointed director of the Bureau of the Mint in Washington, urged Foote to keep the records of the mint "with great care." For this purpose he forwarded to Foote two record books, one for recording communications sent from the New Orleans office and one for recording communications sent to the New Orleans office.³⁸ According to the records available, the direction of the Mint's activities kept Foote very busy.³⁹

³⁴ John B. Ray and Charles Ray to Henry S. Foote, December 6, 1878, in United States Mint Records, National Archives.

³⁵ Nashville *Daily American*, December 25, 1878.

³⁶ H. R. Linderman to Henry S. Foote, December 31, 1878, in Records of Letters, 423, Office Director of the Mint, National Archives; R. E. Preston to Henry S. Foote, January 3, 1879, *ibid.*, 435; January 6, 1879, *ibid.*, 445; January 11, 1879, *ibid.*, 474; January 13, 1879, *ibid.*, 478-480; January 14, 1879, *ibid.*, 484; January 15, 1879, *ibid.*, 486. (Hereinafter cited as Mint Letters.)

³⁷ H. R. Linderman to Henry S. Foote, December 31, 1878, Mint Letters, 423.

³⁸ R. E. Preston to Henry S. Foote, January 14, 1879, Mint Letters, 485.

³⁹ The only record book that has been preserved in the National Archives is the one containing the list of communications sent from the New Orleans office to Washington. It begins with July 1, 1879, and ends with June 30, 1880, and covers Foote's term except for the first six months of 1879. Each entry is numbered and dated as to when sent and when received, with the name of the sender recorded and a very brief statement of the subject of the letter. There are a total of six hundred entries during Foote's tenure. Half of these are recorded as daily statements with no further notation. The remaining entries relate to problems of personnel or coinage. Foote expressed concern over the safety of the Mint. He appointed a special watchman and purchased a burglar proof safe. Foote also urged that steps be taken to repair the building in which the Mint office was located. He visited briefly the New York assay office and the Philadelphia Mint in August, 1879.

On March 25, 1880, Foote asked for a temporary leave of absence. He did not, however, take advantage of this leave until April 21, when he left New Orleans for his home near Nashville. About two weeks later, on May 7, Foote resigned the position.⁴⁰ He expressed disappointment at being unable to continue in the job, but stated that "the continued pressure of disease" forced him to give it up.⁴¹ As his last official act as superintendent, Foote urged Washington to increase the appropriation for wages, repairs, and machinery for the mint at New Orleans.⁴² After Foote's death, a deficit was found in his accounts. Foote's sons, after considerable inquiry into the matter, established that the guilty party was not Foote, but William A. Steele, the cashier who had given Foote considerable trouble during the last few months of his term.⁴³

Foote found time for outside activities while serving as Superintendent of the Mint. He attended the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Labor Convention in Vicksburg in July, 1879. Governor John M. Stone of Mississippi, supported by prominent white planters and business men, had called the meeting. Foote availed himself of this opportunity to denounce those men in the South who were not respecting the rights of the Negro. He urged the "appointment of local committees of men of known probity, impartiality, and patriotism to watch with increasing vigilance the rights to be protected." His appeal, however, fell upon deaf ears, and the Jackson *Clarion* denounced Foote for "waving the bloody shirt."⁴⁴ Foote also found time for writing. In the summer of 1879, he wrote a thirty-seven page autobiographical sketch

⁴⁰ Letters received, Mint and Assay offices, July 1, 1879, to June 30, 1880, National Archives. (Hereinafter cited as Mint Letter Book.)

⁴¹ Henry S. Foote to Rutherford B. Hayes, May 7, 1880, in United States Mint Records, in National Archives. (Hereinafter cited as Mint Records.)

⁴² Mint Letter Book.

⁴³ R. M. M. Foote to Horatio C. Burchard, February 9, March 10, March —, 1881, in Mint Records.

⁴⁴ Vernon Lane Wharton, *The Negro in Mississippi, 1865-1890* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947), 115, quoting the Jackson *Weekly Clarion*, May 14, 1879.

which he sent to J. F. H. Claiborne, who was preparing a history of Mississippi.⁴⁵

On January 8, 1880, the Nashville press reported that Foote was very ill.⁴⁶ During his last visit to Washington, when suddenly rising, Foote had struck "the top of his head against the sharp point at the bottom of a chandelier, under which he had been sitting," and a cancerous growth soon developed. Foote's doctors in New Orleans performed an operation, but it was unsuccessful and gave him no relief.⁴⁷ "He had recognized the inevitable, and his family and friends were expecting" his death, which came on May 19, 1880, at his home some five miles from Nashville.⁴⁸ He was buried in Mount Olivet Cemetery in a lot belonging to the Smiley family. Ironically, his grave is unmarked.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Foote manuscript in John Francis Hamtranck Claiborne Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina. Foote was so busy at the time that he employed J. W. Harmon as a copyist. Foote was anxious to be paid for the manuscript. J. W. Harmon to J. F. H. Claiborne, June 19, 1879, in Claiborne Papers. William M. Gwin had suggested to Claiborne that he "might glean useful information" from Foote for his history. William M. Gwin to J. F. H. Claiborne, December 31, 1878, in Claiborne Papers.

⁴⁶ Nashville *Daily American*, January 8, 1880.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, May 21, 1880; Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, December 9, 1923.

⁴⁸ Nashville *Daily American*, May 20, 1880; *Daily Memphis Avalanche*, May 20, 1880; Memphis *Daily Appeal*, May 20, 1880.

⁴⁹ Mount Olivet Cemetery Records. Mrs. Foote was buried here January 10, 1882.

Trips Up the River: *1855 and 1857*

Edited by JOE B. FRANTZ

who is a member of the Department of History at the University of Texas.

GAIL BORDEN, the inventor of the condensed milk process, was a Texan by adoption, who spent more and more time in the North as his business interests began to expand. Consequently, during the 1850's he not infrequently visited New Orleans in transit, traveling by Mississippi steamer to Cairo, St. Louis, or Louisville, where he would "board the cars" for New York.

An indefatigable letter writer, Borden left behind a number of accounts of his trips up the river. Two journeys taken from three letters,¹ are given in part here. The first account was written from Mechanicsville, New York, to James P. Cole of Galveston, March 10, 1855. Any vagaries in spelling and punctuation, need it be added, are Borden's.

"Nothing occurred on our passage to N. Orleans [from Galveston] worthy of notice, except I might mention the acquaintance made with a fellow passenger. . . . An intelligent christian gentleman (Mr. Cardwell a near neighbor of Col. Walker of Georgia.) He has been [in Texas] for the last year, opening a plantation in lower edge of Wharton county. How pleasant it is when travelling, to fall in with such a gentleman christian. While he was a graduate of a Northern college, his learning in the school of Christ was paramount,

¹ All letters are in the archives of The Borden Company, New York.

and gave such a lustre to his worldly wisdom, that rendered his company to me both profitable and pleasant

"I left N. Orleans the evening of the same day of my arrival there. Took passage for St. Louis on the good old steam 'Aleck Scott.' Had some 800 tons frt. and was just one week reaching Cairo, the mouth of the Ohio river. This now is the terminus of the great Illinois Central R.R. from which a traveller can reach any of the northern cities at the rate of 25 miles per hour. One of the routes to N. York may be put down thus. To wit:

From Cairo	to	St. Louis	— 200 miles
" St. Louis	"	Chicago	— 260 "
" Chicago	"	Tolledo	— 243 "
" Tolledo	"	Cleveland	— 113 "
" Cleveland	"	Erie	— 95 "
" Erie	"	Buffalo	— 88 "
" Buffalo	"	Albany	— 298 "
			1297 "

"The steamer Aleck Scott could ascend no higher than Cairo on account of low water. Arrived here Saturday night. The weather had commenced growing cold on the day previous. On Sunday morning went out to find a church or Sunday School. It seemed to me I never experienced as cold weather. Saw a church but no living soul near it, and made my way back to the boat, feeling that I had lost my ears and nose. 'good gracious says one what cold weather.' The like had not been seen during the winter if within the memory of man.

"About 10 o'clock the Steam Fashion packet from Louisville arrived on her way to St. Louis. Foolishly most of the Scotts passengers transferred themselves and their baggage to the Fashion, instead of waiting for the Cars next (Monday) morning. Among the crowd were many experienced men, but it was an error, and shows that it is not always best to follow the *Fashion*.

"Next day half way to St. Louis our passage was arrested

by the ice. It was now 27 miles to the railroad which, with much labor and expense many of the passengers reached and proceeded to St. Louis. My detention was 4 days.

"From N. Orleans to Cairo it was a monotonous round of eating and sleeping. I found, during the time but one religious man. He belonged to an order of 'Old F's' or to a religion *petrified*: He was so unlike my former companion from Galveston to N. Orleans, and one I subsequently fell in with, that I can't refrain from saying a word about him. He had at his tongues end the whole catalogue of scripture exhibiting every phase of Calvinistic doctrine. He did not believe in missionary effort; he had a pastor well off in the world, and could preach without pay. Thought God would carry on his own work, etc. I hardly need say, he was a "hard shell Baptist," and we could have but little sympathy for each other.

"On my passage from N. Orleans to St. Louis, I had an occasion to exercise my medical skill. Had three patients, all of whom recognised me as a skilful physician,² by which, before reaching St. Louis, I fully bore the cognomen of *Doctor*—While attending my last patient, I was myself taken sick. Chills, pains in the limbs and fever. With deliberation and presence of mind, I prescribed for myself. On Monday morning, the thermometer way down below Zero, I bathed in ice water from head to feet, took my remedies and was well in two days.

"On Sunday morning 4th Instant arrived at Chicago. Many miles before reaching the place, the *track* was, in several places hedged in by immense banks of snow from two to seven feet deep. This appeared curious enough to one, just from the Island City.

"My second sickness at Schenectady was probably occasioned by long confinement in the cars of the Express train. Weather most awfully cold, not a bit of air would be allowed to enter sometimes for 25 or 30 miles. A hot fire, and fifty

² Borden was not a doctor, but liked to practice homeopathy. He sometimes jocularly called himself Dr. Borden.

breaths soon used up the little supply contained in the space of a car. I had taken a most severe influenza, and although I stopped two nights after leaving Chicago, the trail was too hard for the old man, and nature had to yield. It is wonderful, how great changes the human system is able to undergo. The Psalmist understood this. . . ."

The second trip, of more interest to Louisianians, was made in May, 1857, when Borden left Galveston to return to New York and Connecticut to found The Borden Company, which has just finished observing its 100th Anniversary.³ The trip from New Orleans to New York by boat and train cost \$47. Again the letters were written to James P. Cole. The first is dated May 19 from aboard the steamer *Rainbow*.

"[On the trip from Galveston to New Orleans] Had an exceedingly unpleasant time in the Oppolousas, or Vanderbilt Steamer: She rolled wonderfully and the hard blow the night previous left 'ground swells' and she is narrow. Arrived in the Cars at Algiers about 11 at night on the next day. Steam ferry boat on the opposite side was 'steam down.' While waiting several of the passengers wanted to get up an indignation paper. When offered to me several had signed it, but I declined, being pressed for my reasons I stated that it was no time to do such a thing. We all felt too indignant and mad to do *any* thing right. I had made it a rule, that if I talked mad I would not write when in that condition. The paper got no more signatures in my vicinity. About two o'clock Saturday morning we landed in N. Orleans—Sister Louisa [wife of Thomas H. Borden, Gail Borden's brother and a New Orleans resident] being captain, we went to the French Market hard by, and took cup of coffee & Tea. Then a hack soon drove the females to No 10 Calliopes St. at $\frac{1}{2}$ Past 3 in bed & asleep.

"Did not get our baggage until after 12 that day. It was,

³ Originally The Borden Company was known as the New York Condensed Milk Company.

however, in justice to the line & baggage agents it got *into* the *city* by 9A.M.

“Don’t understand by what I have said, that I am opposed to the Vanderbilt line. I only mean to say, they have not got the thing into working order. It will make a fine route and will be patronised, and should be patronised.

[Borden left at 5 o’clock that same afternoon.]

“Some excitement prevailed when we went on board; it being whispered that the boat was “going to race” with the steamer R. J. Ward just ready to put out for St. Louis, the Rainbow for Louisville. Some of the ladies were almost indignant. Bro. Tom tried to quiet them by saying, ‘Accidents do not occur often when boats race.’ Well,

“We have raced up to the present time with the Steamer Ward a ‘cracked boat.’ laden full of passengers at \$50 to \$55 passage fare. The Rainbow only \$ to \$ to Louisville. The Ward started, some 30 minutes before us. We passed her about 7 o’clock yesterday evening 560 miles above N.O. I do not know what efforts the *Ward* had made to prevent the Rainbow from passing her, but have no doubt they were as good as that of the R---

“Our boat started with a large quantity of ‘light wood’ (pitch pine) and subsequently took on over 100 cords more of the same material. This morning 500 bushels coal. The other wood not being first rate, they made up deficiencies by using tar,—to day at the rate of two barrels per hour. What kind of fires are kept up, you may judge when I tell you there are 36 firemen—12 employed at a time. To one unaccustomed to the sight, these furnaces are absolutely terrific.

“Yet I am not half so apprehensive of danger now that I know the race is most hotly contested, as I did on the old sleepy steamers years ago. In (March) 1825 I ascended this river in a steamer from Natches to Louisville—Time 13 days. *Then* the only index to security was a “safety valve & gauge cock.” *Now* in addition to this, they are provided with

the following *Evans Guard*: is a watch upon the Engineer himself. It says 'If you get me too hot I shall open a hole and let out the steam.' A *Water gauge* a simple magnetic contrivance showing on a clock face the height of water in the boiler. And lastly, a *Steam gauge* indicating the precise pressure of steam in the boiler. Now then, with these contrivances with improvement in machinery and Engineers in skill & (line obliterated) (half so much) fear in the conflict of a race, as when these contrivances of safety were unknown. It should be forgotten neither, that on occasions like the present every officer is on his post & on the watch. One of the Engineers of a *Mate* is at all times overseeing the fires. The engineer every moment examining the machinery."

The second letter, written from Washington, D. C., on May 25, winds up the narrative briefly:

"Our racing steamer arrived at Cairo in 4 days 2 hours—Waited for the Cars 9 hours, during which time the competing steamer came up $2\frac{1}{2}$ [*sic*] behind us—so we beat them 3 hours. Took Cars via Ill Central R.R. through Ia.⁴ O. to Wheeling thence on the great Baltimore & O. R. R. over the mountains; wonderful road & grand scenery. In all 9 days 14 hours. from Galveston to my friend Thos. Green's⁵ Washington. . . ."

⁴ Indiana. Borden "laid over" one night in Indianapolis en route to Washington, missed the express train, and had to continue by a slower mail train.

⁵ Green, who owned considerable land in Texas, was one of Borden's backers in founding the original condensed milk factory. Later the two became intractable business enemies.

Reconstruction in Louisiana:

Three Letters

Edited by MARTIN ABBOTT

who holds the Ph.D. degree from Emory University and who is Associate Professor of History at Oglethorpe University.

MUCH OF THE bitter temper of the years of military occupation in the South following the War for Southern Independence may be gleaned from the private correspondence of that generation. The following three letters, written in early 1868 from New Orleans by two men who had come to Louisiana to make political as well as private fortune, are revelatory of the politics of the Reconstruction Period of that state. Written by men who were direct participants in the drama of Reconstruction that was just beginning to unfold in Louisiana, they describe events associated with the convention summoned to draft a new state constitution, under provisions outlined by the Congressional Reconstruction acts of 1867.

Thomas W. Conway, author of the first of the letters, was a former head of the Freedmen's Bureau in the state for about six months in 1865, until his opposition to President Johnson's policies occasioned his removal. He came to be a figure of considerable importance in the Radical regime established under the new state constitution.¹ The writer of the other two letters was Charles H. Fox, of whom little is known beyond what his communications reveal. He was an ex-Union soldier who apparently had come to Louisiana in quest of

¹ George R. Bentley, *A History of the Freedmen's Bureau* (Philadelphia, 1955), 57-58, 70-71.

personal fortune and who at the moment appeared to be drawing support from among the freedmen for his political aspirations.

All of the letters were addressed to the Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, General O. O. Howard, whose papers at Bowdoin College Library contain the originals.

New Orleans, La.

January 5, 1868

Dear General:

Your favor reached me in due time. It was too short to be interesting but I hope you may find time to write me at length before long. I often think of you and how you have toiled amid all sorts of difficulties to give credit to our Emancipation policy, and, though I was the first of the few who originated the Bureau, who was stricken down as if I were a foe, I can say that no man has said or done more to bring public sympathy to your aid than myself. I do not forget however that the man "at the other end of the Avenue" was to blame.

I send you herewith the resolutions Concerning the Bureau which I drew and caused to be presented to the Convention.² They lie over under the rules but will pass by a large majority. Mr. Eliot in his letter to me suggested the passage of such resolutions.³ The Bureau here is not amounting to much at present. Mower⁴ nearly killed it by appointing whiskey drinkers to subordinate places. But it does some good for all that. Political matters are exciting. Hancock⁵ is avowedly with the rebels in sympathy. They lay absolute

² This is a reference to the constitutional convention of ninety-eight members, divided equally between white and black, elected in September, 1867. Convened in late November, it remained in session until March 9, 1868. Ella Lonn, *Reconstruction in Louisiana after 1868* (New York, 1918), 5-6.

³ Conway had recently corresponded with Congressman T. D. Eliot of Boston on the matter of continuing the life of the Bureau beyond mid-1868. Conway to O. O. Howard, December 12, 1867, in the O. O. Howard Papers (Bowdoin College Library).

⁴ Joseph A. Mower was one of the successors of Conway as head of the Bureau in Louisiana, serving from November 16, 1866, to December 3, 1867. Bentley, *Freedmen's Bureau*, 215.

⁵ General W. S. Hancock, who succeeded General Philip Sheridan as military commander of the state in August, 1867.

. . . [undecipherable word] to him, and we poor old soldiers who fought with him have no show.

The Convention is now pushing ahead with its work. The members are below par as to intelligence but that is better than to be so as to loyalty. Langston⁶ and I have taken them in hand lately and the prospect is that they will give head to what we urge upon them. Chase is the only man spoken of for the Presidency in this section and you for vice president. Grant has no one here, among the Republicans, who says he will vote for him. This may or may not suit you, but I mention it as a fact merely.

I'm glad to see Armstrong⁷ still in service. . . .

I am working hard among the freedmen *to do them good*. Poor people! They love me for what I did for them when friends were fewer and more poorly compensated than they are now.

Our friends in this state seem determined to put me at the head of the Dept. of Public Education in connection with the new government.⁸ I suppose I could be useful there, and perhaps I could see the end of the same good cause of which I also saw the commencement. This would be a strange Providence surely. I have worked as hard and done as much as anybody (except yourself) to give the poor blacks that fair chance in the world which God designed for them as well as for us; and now, what little I have in the world, together with my time and labors, are ready to be spent in the same good cause. However dark may be the moment whatever may be the obstacles in the way, I have no doubt as to the result which God has in store for us.

Very truly yours,

Thomas W. Conway

⁶ John M. Langston, an accomplished Negro orator who was one of the Bureau's inspectors of schools and who actively promoted the Republican cause in the South. Bentley, *Freedmen's Bureau*, 188-189.

⁷ William J. Armstrong, a special agent of the Bureau in the South for a short time in 1868, was an ardent advocate of Radical doctrines. *Ibid.*, 189.

⁸ Conway was nominated for the post a few days later by the Republican state convention. H. C. Warmoth, *War, Politics and Reconstruction: Stormy Days in Louisiana* (New York, 1930), 55.

New Orleans

March 26, 1868

Dear General

I have not written you in a long time not because I did not have the inclination so to do, but I did not wish to worry you by writing when I had nothing of importance to communicate. now we have matters of great importance we are upon the eve of an important Election—for or against the Constitution we will have a hard struggle the Rebels, Copperheads and Democrats have united their forces against us—and declare they will defeat the Constitution but we do not believe a word of it we are at work well organized and watching them closely—we have large meetings and well attended I speak every evening and have large and enthusiastic meetings. The colored population are alive to their duties and fully understand their situation but we have a great obstacle Genl. Hancock injured us seriously and now we are cursed with Buchanan⁹ he will refuse the Registration on us and thousands of Rebs will register that was denied Registration by Genl. Sheridan. Hancock appointed a New Board of Registrars most all Rebs, men who cannot legally Register Consequently you can see who they will sympathize with. Cannot we get relief—must we be crushed out by such bad men with Johnson at their head. Let him be Impeached at once—give us Wade and we are all right— Genl. when Wade is President may I solicit a favor from you?

Please write me as soon as conven't.

Your friend,
Charles H. Fox

New Orleans
May 9, 1868

Dear General

After a severe contest we the Radicals have succede[d] in carrying the state. We have adopted our constitution by at least 20,000 majority also elected the Radical State

⁹ R. C. Buchanan, Hancock's successor as military commander in 1868.

Ticket also have a good working majority in each branch of the legislature also elected four of the five Congressmen. We will also [have] both U. S. Senators Radicals. We have had great obstacles to overcome Genl. Hancock injured us greatly. He was a great impediment to reconstruction, gave all the aid and comfort in his power to the Rebs and retarded Unionists all in his power and subsequently Genl. Buchanan was worse than Hancock, as he executed all the clever plans Hancock had contemplated, and well did he do his work. But with all we have succeeded, and if our coming legislature is true to the principles and the party we will doubtless place the rebel gang in a position where they will ultimately become extinct.

We are watching closely the progress of impeachment. This is almost our only salvation if Senators become timid and falter in the work they have commenced our Radical party and principles are placed in danger. But we hope and trust for the best and believe ere long we shall have the great pleasure of rejoicing over the decapitation of Johnson (his accidency)

General the Colored men have announced me as their candidate for the U. S. Senate and as it is a position of great power and importance it is reasonable to suppose I am quite ambitious to attain it and can you advance me in my desires. Could you not write me a letter of such a character that I could publish the same. Your influence here is great and anything from you of a favorable character would be greatly to my advantage, especially my conduct as a soldier while under your Command. if you can accommodate me in that manner please do so.¹⁰

With my regards for your health and welfare [sic] I am most respectfully

Your obt sevt.
Charles H. Fox

¹⁰ W. P. Kellogg and J. B. Harris were selected as the state's two Senators. Lonn, *Reconstruction in Louisiana*, 5-6.

Vignettes

“... THE MOST ELOQUENT FIRST FINGER THAT MAN EVER POSSESSED”

“... I do not think Mr. Soulé could have been called a learned man, but with his sonorous voice and graceful gestures, to say nothing of his marvellous [*sic*] personal magnetism, he was the most remarkable ‘spellbinder’ it was ever my good fortune to see or listen to. During the early part of the civil war when we southerners paid a great deal more attention to florid oratory than we did to drilling, Mr. Soulé used when making a public address, to strike a graceful attitude and raise his right arm, and his first finger would commence to tremble. That was the most eloquent first finger that man ever possessed. Without saying a word he could hold an audience enthralled as long as he chose to let it tremble. When New Orleans was captured by Farragut’s fleet I saw him hold a maddened mob spellbound in front of the Mint [City Hall] by simply letting that finger tremble while the federal officers made their escape out of a back door, The Mob were [*sic*] swearing that they were going to kill the Yankee officers, and on the fleet the men were standing at their guns, lanyards in hand, and Farragut, a man of his word, was swearing that if a hair of the heads of his messengers was harmed that he would not leave two bricks standing on top of each other in New Orleans. Undoubtedly the Crescent City owed its escape to the extraordinary length of time Mr. Soulé’s finger trembled, and the Federal officers owed their lives to the same peculiarity of the digit.”

James Morris Morgan to Dr. Milledge L. Bonham, October 16, 1916. In the Historical Society of East and West Baton Rouge Records, Department of Archives, Louisiana State University. New Orleans born, Ex-Confederate naval officer Morgan was the author of *Recollections of a Rebel Reefer* (1917). Dr. Bonham was a member of the Louisiana State University History Department from 1912 to 1919, headed that department from 1917 to 1919, and was the author of *The British Consuls in the Confederacy* (1911).

Louisiana State University

JAMES O. LANG

TERRITORIAL MILITIA UNIFORMS

GENERAL ORDERS.

Head Quarters, New Orleans 12th Augt 1805

The commander in Chief of the militia of this Territory, hereby prescribes the several uniforms of the officers thereof.

The uniform of the Brigadier General, shall be a long blue coat, yellow buttons with buff facings and linings and buff under clothes:—He shall be distinguished by a white Plume, and two Gold epaulets, with a silver star in each.

The uniform of Aids de Camp, shall be that of the Staff to which they belong, except that their epaulets shall be plain, and the aids of the commander in Chief, shall wear green plumes, and those of the Brigadier general blue.

The uniform of the adjutant General, shall be the same as the aids de Camp, except that his plume shall be red. The uniform of Colonels and Majors shall be a long blue coat, white buttons, red facings, white linings, and white under clothes, they shall be distinguished by a pair of Silver epaulets, and white Plumes.

The uniforms of the Brigade Majors shall be the same as that of the Colonels of regiments, except that the Plumes of the former shall be Black.

All the commissioned officers shall wear a long blue Coat, white buttons, and white linings (except [*sic*] artillery officers, who shall have red linings, and yellow buttons) white under cloths and half Boots. Captains shall be distinguished by an Epaulet on the Right shoulder, of the colour of their buttons, and Subalterns by one on the left.

All commissioned officers shall wear black Stocks, Cocked Hats, and black Cocades, ornamented with eagles, of the colour of their buttons, and red *silk sashes*; *those* of the General and field officers to be worn around their waists out side of the coat, those of inferior rank underneath.

Red waistcoats and blue pantaloons may be occasionally substituted in the place of white under cloths, by the order or permission of officers commanding regiments;—and as many officers may not be able to provide themselves immediately with silver epaulets, they are per-

mitted to continue the use of such as they may have for the space of six months from the date of these orders. Captains and Subalterns attached to the Battalion of Orleans Volunteers, will wear the uniform heretofore prescribed them.

By order of the Commander in Chief

(Signed) M. FORTIER junior

Aide-De-Camp

John Graham to James Madison, February 13, 1806, Clarence E. Carter (ed.), *The Territory of Orleans, 1803-1812* (Vol. IX of *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, Washington, 1940), 584-585.

Louisiana State University

THE EDITORS



LOUISIANA GOVERNMENTAL SALARIES, 1721

The Governor-General	12,000 livres,	\$2500
The Lieutenant-Governor	5,000 "	1000
The Principal Director of the Company	12,000 "	2500
The Chief Clerk of the Factories	5,900 "	1140
The Store-Keeper	1,500 "	300
The Captain commanding at New Orleans	1,800 "	360
The Captain commanding at Missouri	1,000 "	250
The Captain commanding at Illinois	700 "	140
The Captain commanding at Biloxi	700 "	140

Guillaume Tell Poussin, *The United States; Its Power and Progress*, Edmund L. Du Barry, translator (1st American edition, from the 3rd Paris edition, Philadelphia, 1851), 204.

Louisiana State University

THE EDITORS

Report on Second Annual Meeting

The second annual meeting of the reorganized Louisiana Historical Association was held in New Orleans on March 10, 11, and 12, 1960. Headquarters for the meeting was the Sheraton-Charles Hotel. Over 100 members registered for the meeting, representing all regions of the state.

Three reading sessions dealt with the history of Louisiana. On the morning of March 11, in the Jackson Room of the Sheraton-Charles, Joseph G. Tregle of Louisiana State University in New Orleans presided over a meeting devoted to political history. William H. Adams of Southwestern Louisiana Institute spoke on "The Louisiana Whigs: An Appraisal." He was followed by Philip D. Uzee of Francis T. Nicholls State College whose topic was "The Republican Party in the Louisiana Election of 1896."

Following a luncheon in the Beauregard Room of the Sheraton-Charles, a session on Louisiana in the Civil War, presided over by Charles P. Roland of Tulane University, took place in the Jackson Room. Mrs. Martina Buck of Southeastern Louisiana College discussed and read excerpts from the diary of "A Louisiana Prisoner of War on Johnson's Island, 1863-1865." Charles L. Dufour of the *New Orleans States* and *New Orleans Item* advanced the thesis that the fall of New Orleans was the decisive event of the Civil War in a paper entitled "The Night the War Was Lost." The last paper, by John D. Winters of Louisiana Polytechnic Institute, was entitled "Unvexed to the Sea: The Siege of Port Hudson."

In the late afternoon a reception for the members of the Association was held at the Confederate Museum, 929 Camp Street. Preceding the reception, members gathered at the museum to watch a televised panel discussion of "The Creoles of Louisiana" over Station WYES-TV. Participants in the

discussion were: John Kyser, Acting President of the Association and President of Northwestern State College, Joseph G. Tregle, Edwin Adams Davis, Charles L. Dufour, and Charles P. Roland. Kenneth Trist Urquhart was moderator of the discussion.

The annual dinner of the Association took place in the Jackson Room on the evening of March 11. The members were welcomed to New Orleans by City Commissioner Henry B. Curtis. At this dinner Mr. C. J. Peltier, teacher of history at Morgan City High School, was cited for his outstanding achievements in producing enthusiastic study of Louisiana History on the part of his students. An honorary membership in the Association was awarded to Mr. Ernst Seemann of the Louisiana State University Press for his work in designing the format of *Louisiana History*. Sidney Romero of Southeastern Louisiana College introduced John Kyser, whose presidential address was entitled "Portrait of Louisiana." Dr. Kyser's theme was the effect of the state's surface features, geology, and climate upon its historical development.

On the morning of Saturday, March 12, a session devoted to the history of Louisiana architecture was held in the University College Auditorium of Tulane University. Kenneth Trist Urquhart of St. Mary's Dominican College presided over this session, which consisted of an illustrated lecture entitled "Architectural Development in Louisiana" by Samuel Wilson, Jr., of Koch and Wilson, Architects. Following this session a luncheon and business meeting was held in the Stone Room of the Tulane University Student Center. Those present heard "The Founding of *Louisiana History*: The Editor's Report" by Edwin Adams Davis.

The disposition of the business of the Association began with a meeting of the Board of Directors on the evening of Thursday, March 10. President Kyser reported on his conversations with state budget officers and indicated the apparent need for a study of the legal status of the Louisiana Historical Association. The Board directed President Kyser to discuss publication funds for *Louisiana History* with Presi-

dent Troy Middleton of Louisiana State University. The Secretary-Treasurer was authorized to renew the Association's membership in the National Trust for Historic Preservation, the American Association for State and Local History, and the American Museum Association. The Memorial Hall Committee, composed of Joe G. Taylor, Martin Hall, John D. Winters, and Judge A. Wilmot Dalferes, was designated as the Association's liaison with the Port Hudson Steering Committee. A nominating committee was elected as follows: Max V. Bradbury, Chairman, Ada M. Stabatier, Yvonne Phillips, John D. Winters, and Robert C. Reinders. The Board went on record as favoring appropriate Civil War Centennial observances in Louisiana and authorized President Kyser to appoint a steering committee to work with other interested groups toward this end. The Association's Marker Committee was urged to map out a state-wide program with suggested priorities and to present its findings to the new Director of Commerce and Industry. The Board agreed to transfer the membership matters from the office of the Secretary-Treasurer to that of the Executive Secretary. The Secretary-Treasurer asked, for personal work load reasons, that regular publication of the *News Letter* be dispensed. The Board voted that the 1961 meeting be held in Shreveport.

At the business meeting following the Saturday luncheon John S. Kyser was elected President for a full term. Other officers elected were: Joseph G. Tregle, Vice President; John C. L. Andreassen, Secretary-Treasurer. Elected to the Board of Directors were Mrs. Max V. Bradbury, Charles L. Dufour, and Robert L. Crisler. Resolutions were adopted expressing the gratitude of the Association to the Sheraton-Charles Hotel, Tulane University, the Local Arrangements Committee, and the Program Committee. Allied organizations commended for their work during the past year were Louisiana Landmarks Society, Friends of the Cabildo, New Iberia Colonials, Port Hudson Steering Committee, Restoration of Historic Natchitoches, Inc., Louisiana Genealogical and Historical Society, the Southwestern Louisiana Historical Society, North Louisiana Historical Association, and the Central Louisiana

Historical Association. Unanimous commendation of the Association was given to Governor-Elect James H. Davis for the following plank in the Davis-Aycock platform:

History and Traditions. The people of Louisiana are justly proud of the glorious history of our state. We must not neglect our historical institutions, buildings, monuments, museums, and shrines. We will do everything we can to preserve and improve the things and places that have special historical and traditional significance such as the Presbytere, and Jackson Square in New Orleans. The administration of such facilities will be free of political interference.

The Honorable James H. Davis also received the commendation of the Association's members for the statements made in a story carried in the *New Orleans States* and *New Orleans Item* for January 1, 1960, under the by-line of Alex Vuillemot, which follows:

'Today in Louisiana many members of historical societies are spending their own time and money to keep intact our cultural heritage.

'We are fortunate that there are enough civic-minded individuals around to have preserved much of our past in documentary form. But at best this has been a losing battle.

'Unless many of these individuals receive some sympathetic assistance from the state, Louisiana eventually will cease to be any different than many of our states which have no history to fall back on.

. . . 'many of the contributions toward preservation of Louisiana's cultural heritage were made possible by the enlightened attitude of business and industry.' He said many firms had underwritten projects of historical or cultural importance as public relations gestures.

'I think we should offer these individuals, groups and firms some guarantee that the state will do its share. It just isn't right for us to sit idly by and watch beautiful buildings crumble, historical sites go unrestored and priceless documents disappear into oblivion.'

President Kyser was instructed to appoint a committee to consider the possibility of a one-day meeting of the Association at

Baton Rouge to commemorate the sesquicentennial of the West Florida Rebellion of 1810. Judge A. Wilmot Dalferes proposed that the membership campaign be stepped up by setting up the membership committee on a congressional district and parish basis, and he was promptly appointed Chairman of that committee. The most disturbing note at the meeting was sounded by Secretary-Treasurer Andreassen, who called attention to the rapidly declining financial resources of the Association and emphasized the necessity for some type of subsidy if *Louisiana History* is to continue publication.

Following the business meeting a brief meeting of the Board of Directors was held at which G. W. McGinty and Charles L. Dufour were elected to the Executive Committee by acclamation.

All those present agreed that the second annual meeting was as successful as the first meeting at Alexandria a year ago. Attendance exceeded expectations, and the quality of the papers read was high in terms of interest and professional competence. This meeting and the first issue of *Louisiana History* demonstrate that the Louisiana Historical Association is on a sound basis professionally, fully capable of carrying out its function of preserving and arousing public interest in the history of Louisiana. Badly needed is the financial support which will make it possible for the Association to continue the work it has begun.

Notes and Comments

MEETINGS

Several Louisiana social scientists are scheduled to appear on the program of the annual convention of the Southwestern Social Science Association to be held at the Statler Hilton Hotel in Dallas, April 14-15. Jack D. L. Holmes of McNeese State College will present a paper entitled "The Development of Law and Order on the Spanish-American Frontier: Natchez, 1785-1797." Thomas L. Karnes of Tulane University will serve as discussion leader at a session on Latin American history. T. Harry Williams of Louisiana State University will be a discussant at a session dealing with "Reform and Reformers." At a European history panel, Walter C. Richardson of Louisiana State University will preside, Amos E. Simpson of Southwestern Louisiana Institute will read a paper on "Diplomacy and the Young Plan of 1929," and John L. Snell of Tulane University will serve as discussion leader. Numerous other staff members from Louisiana colleges will attend the meeting.

The Mississippi Historical Society held its annual convention at the Buena Vista Hotel, Biloxi, March 4-5. The general theme of the program was "Eve of Conflict: Mississippi in 1860." The address at the annual dinner, given on Friday evening, March 4, was given by U. S. Grant III, USA (Ret.), who spoke on the subject, "The War was Won in the West." The following papers were read: Jack W. Gunn, Mississippi College, "Mississippi in 1860 as Reflected in the Activities of the Governor's Office"; Joseph Stevens, Mississippi Southern College, "Mississippi in Congress in 1860"; John K. Bettersworth, Mississippi State University, "Mississippi Culture in 1860"; Margaret Des Champs Moore, University of Mississippi, "Religion in Mississippi in 1860." William D. McCain, President of Mississippi Southern College, addressed the Friday luncheon session on "Mississippi Education in 1860.." On Friday afternoon the Gulf Coast chapters of the United Daughters of the Confederacy entertained at tea at "Beauvoir," the home of Jefferson Davis, and on Saturday afternoon a large number visited Fort Massachusetts. The 1959-1960 President of the Society was Florence Sillers Ogdan of Rosedale.

A meeting to organize a Landmarks Chapter for LaFourche and Terrebonne parishes was held on March 16 at the Municipal Auditorium in Houma. Future organizational meetings will be held in East and West Baton Rouge, Iberville, Lafayette, St. Landry, and Iberia Parishes.

The Louisiana Genealogical and Historical Society will hold its second meeting of the year at the St. Landry Parish Courthouse, Opelousas, on April 9 at 2 p.m. Mrs. L. Austin Fontenot, Jr., will speak on "Genealogical and Historical Records Available in Opelousas and Vicinity."

The Central Louisiana Historical Society held its first meeting of 1960 on January 11 at Alexandria. The following officers were elected: Leon P. Bergeron, President; F. Jay Taylor, Vice-President; Mrs. Louise W. Brown, Secretary-Treasurer. Kenneth Trist Urquhart, Executive Secretary of the Louisiana Historical Association, spoke on the history of the Association.

The Louisiana Library Association held its annual meeting on March 24, 25, 26, 1960, at Monroe. Kate Wallach of the Louisiana State University Law Library was elected President, effective July 1, succeeding Miss Jane Ellen Carstens of Hamilton Laboratory School Library, Southwestern Louisiana Institute.

PERSONALS

The History Department, Tulane University: *1960 Summer Session staff*: First semester: David Dowd (University of Florida), Edward Miles (University of Houston), Kenneth T. Urquhart (Dominican College), William R. Hogan; Second semester: Claude Pike (Mississippi Southern College), Robert Reinders.

The Department of Social Studies, Southwestern Louisiana Institute: *1960 Summer Session staff*: William H. Adams, Walter R. Craddock, formerly of the University of North Carolina who has joined the staff, W. Magruder Drake, Sylvester J. Hemleben, Amos E. Simpson, Charles L. Stansifer, Carroll C. Gates (Louisiana State University). Robert M. Albert, Vincent Cassidy, Robert R. Miller, and Paul J. Stewart, Jr., will work on research projects during the coming summer. William Adams was awarded the Ph.D. degree at the Louisiana State University January commencement.

The Department of History, Louisiana College: *1960 Summer Session staff*: F. Jay Taylor, E. Frank Masingill. Jay Taylor will spend

several weeks of the coming summer at the Air University, Montgomery, Alabama, doing research for a biography of General Claire Lee Chennault; Frank Masingill will work on an article on American-Mexican relations during the administration of Woodrow Wilson.

The Social Science Department, McNeese State College: *1960 Summer Session staff*: R. A. Suarez, C. W. Fogleman, Clet J. Gary, Martin Hall, William B. Knipmeyer, Donald J. Millet. Ada M. Sabateir will study in Europe during the coming summer, and G. R. Cole will continue graduate study at Louisiana State University.

J. B. Patrick, Louisiana Polytechnic Institute, has resigned effective June 1 to accept another position; W. Y. Thompson will be on leave during the coming summer to do research for a proposed biography of Robert Toombs.

The Social Science Department, Southeastern Louisiana College: *1960 Summer Session staff*: Martina E. Buck, Harold J. Leu, George W. Bedsole, John P. Reed, F. H. Bankston, Wayne Newkirk, C. Howard Nichols. Sidney J. Romero was granted a leave for the summer to do research on the Confederate chaplain; Ervin Mancil will work on his Ph.D. dissertation.

The Department of Social Sciences, Northeast Louisiana College: *1960 Summer Session staff*: Joseph R. Brown, Nallie W. Hickman, William R. Scurlock, Arthur L. Tatum, William A. Walker. Ted B. Ferguson will spend the summer completing his Ph.D. dissertation.

Kenneth Urquhart will teach a course in Louisiana history at St. Mary's Dominican College during the 1960 Summer Session.

The Department of History, Louisiana State University: *1960 Summer Session staff*: John Duffy, Walter C. Richardson, Jane Lucas deGrummond, Robert C. Holtman, Edwin Adams Davis, and Burl Noggle of New Mexico State University, who will become a permanent staff member. J. Preston Moore will sail for Spain in the early fall to continue research on the second volume of his study on the Cabildo in the Spanish dependencies.

ALLIED ORGANIZATIONS

William J. Murtaugh, assistant to the president of the National Trust for the Preservation of Historic Homes, spoke in New Iberia on January 18 at the invitation of the New Iberia Chapter of the Louisiana Colonials, explaining the foundation's plan for the preser-

vation of "The Shadows," the noted antebellum plantation home of Weeks Hall, bequeathed to the National Trust at Hall's death two years ago. With the use of slides, Murtaugh showed how many historic homes in the nation have been restored, preserved, and in some cases, reconstructed. In speaking of "The Shadows" he said, "The Shadows can be considered a 3 dimensional historical document . . . it will interpret life as it was in the 1830's in Louisiana." Hall was quoted as saying: "I have lived on the place attending it and building it. Nothing in life has meant, or will mean, more to me than this garden on a summer morning before sunrise . . . at all hours, no place is more tranquil nor more ageless. Its inherent charm to me has been its placid seclusion from a changing world, and in that, will be its quality to others . . . this quality must be preserved."

The Association of Natchitoches Women for the Preservation of Historic Natchitoches reports the following highlights of its 1959 activities: January 27—sponsored an address by Jacob H. Morrison of New Orleans, member of the Vieux Carre Commission and of the Louisiana Landmarks Society; May 9—host to the meeting of the Northwest Louisiana Historical Association; June 17—participated in the Shreveport world premiere of the movie "Horse Soldiers," which was partially filmed in the Natchitoches area; August 8—greeted seven bus loads of Marksville delegates who were on tour advertising the Marksville Sesquicentennial; October 10-11—assisted in the 5th Annual Historical Tour of the Natchitoches area, during which more than 1,000 guests from 19 states and one foreign country were registered. The Association's officers are Mrs. John S. Kyser, General Chairman; Carmen Breazeale, First Vice Chairman, and Corresponding Secretary; Mrs. Peyton Cunningham, Second Vice Chairman; Mrs. George Sutton, Recording Secretary; Mrs. Herman Taylor, Sr., Treasurer. The Association was organized in 1943.

At the February 11 joint meeting of the Lincoln Parish Historical Society and the Ruston Writers Club, G. W. McGinty of Louisiana Polytechnic Institute spoke on "Some Comments on the History of Louisiana."

P. A. Walker of Louisiana Polytechnic Institute will participate in a panel discussion of "The Impact of Increased College Enrollment on the Social Sciences" at the Social Science section of the Louisiana College Conference in New Orleans on April 4. His colleague, John D. Winters, will speak to the North Louisiana Historical Association at Mansfield on April 23 on "The Battle of Mansfield."

One organization which is very active in promoting an interest in the history of this state is the Port Hudson Steering Committee. They are especially interested in seeing that Port Hudson receives its rightful place in the history of the Civil War and in the preservation of the Port Hudson Battle Field.

MISCELLANY

J. D. L. Holmes, McNeese State College, spoke before the Houston Civil War Round Table in late March on "Forrest's Raid in Tennessee."

R. O. Trout and LeMar Stephan, Louisiana Polytechnic Institute, are collaborating in the preparation of a series of film strips on geographic and historic sites of Louisiana.

Kenneth Urquhart, St. Mary's Dominican College, is offering a course in Louisiana History over WYES, Channel 8, every Friday from 5:30 to 6:00 p.m. during the current semester.

Mrs. L. A. Fontenot, Jr., Chairman of the Opelousas Museum Commission, and Dudley A. Tatman, the Museum's Curator, have announced the construction of a new sign for the JIM BOWIE HOUSE, the home of the Museum, the acquisition of a number of manuscripts pertaining to the Bowie family, and the issuing of a fishing and sight-seeing guide to the Opelousas area and a tourist guide to the Opelousas area industry.

The twenty-second series of the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History, sponsored by the Louisiana State University Graduate School and the Department of History, were presented February 8-9 by John Richard Alden, Professor of History and Chairman of the Department of History, Duke University. The general subject of the lectures was "The First South, 1775-1789." Individual lectures were "The First South," "North and South in the Revolutionary Congress," and "The South Ratifies the Constitution." Clement W. Eaton of the University of Kentucky will be the 1961 lecturer.

In the January, 1960, issue of *The Journal of Mississippi History*, Willie D. Dalsell published "A Bibliography of Theses and Dissertations Relating to Mississippi, 1959." Those of possible interest to Louisianians include:

Haynes, Robert V., "A Political History of the Mississippi Territory, 1795-1817." Ph.D., Rice Institute, Spring, 1959.

James, Dorris Clayton, "Territorial Natchez," M.A., Mississippi State University, Summer, 1959.

Roberts, Clarence W., "The Chickasaws and the Great Colonial Powers, 1540-1750." M.A., Mississippi State University, Summer, 1959.

Samuel Wilson, Jr., Louisiana architect and past president of the Louisiana Landmarks Society, has been appointed Chairman of the Committee for the Preservation of Historical Buildings of the American Institute of Architects.

"POOR CONDITION OF CABILDO AND PRESBYTERE. Repeated attention has been drawn to the alarmingly poor physical condition of these buildings. Both are in urgent need of emergency repairs, and it is imperative that the Louisiana Legislature appropriate sufficient money to at least start restoration work to prevent the loss of these irreplaceable buildings. Not only are funds needed to preserve the buildings, but additional funds are needed to protect the many valuable acquisitions which now lie in boxes and crates instead of being properly displayed or made readily available. Fortunately, Friends of the Cabildo are actively pressing for needed legislation to provide necessary funds, but their efforts can certainly be augmented by added support directed to State Legislators by interested individuals." *Preservation* (published by the Louisiana Landmarks Society), vol. III (January, 1960), 3.

Annie Lou Murphy of the Department of Commerce and Industry reports the following historical markers purchased and/or erected during 1959:

<i>Name</i>	<i>Location</i>
Roncall	Kentwood
Convent	Convent
Breaux Bridge	Breaux Bridge
Opelousas	Opelousas
Last Island	Houma
Allendale Plantation	Port Allen
Camp Moore	Kentwood
Ouachita River	
Steamboat Era	Columbia
Bossier Shed Road	Bossier City

The *Proceedings* of the Third Annual Institute of the Louisiana Genealogical and Historical Society will be available in April.

Members will be interested to know that membership in the Louisiana Historical Association passed the 500 mark on February 19, 1960. Encouraging as this is, there is still much that needs to be done in the way of getting new members. If each member would make it a project to secure one new member, this would mean that the total membership would be 1000. Surely there are that many individuals in the state interested enough in the history of their state to join the Association were they contacted and encouraged.

Fort Jessup state park on Highway 6, near Many, was formally dedicated on March 27. Restoration of Fort Jessup was made possible through the efforts of the Louisiana State Parks and Recreation Commission, the Louisiana Department of Public Works, and the State Highway Department.

A project being considered in New Orleans is a Civic Attractions Fund, which would function for the benefit of art and historical museums, educational television, jazz, opera, and symphony.

Under a grant from the Council on Library Resources, Inc., the Virginia State Library, under the technical supervision of W. J. Barrow, has developed a new type of paper with a life expectancy of at least 300 years. This project was years in development and has had the services of many libraries, scientists, institutions and firms. Recently a pamphlet was published, entitled "Deterioration of Book Stock, Causes and Remedies." This work, edited by Randolph W. Church, is printed on this new enduring paper.

The Louisiana State University College of Arts and Sciences presented its centennial program in honor of Louisiana State University's 100th anniversary on March 11, 1960. Moderating the symposium entitled "The South Looks at Itself" was T. Harry Williams, Boyd Professor of History at LSU. The panel was composed of Charles L. Dufour, columnist for the *New Orleans States* and *New Orleans Item*, who delivered a paper on "The Changing Southern Culture," Richard J. Russell, Director of the LSU Coastal Studies Institute and Professor of Geography, who spoke on "The Impact of Science on the South," Samuel Wilson, Jr., of Koch and Wilson, Architects, who discussed "Art and Architecture in the South," and Martin Shockley, Professor of American Literature at North Texas State College, who spoke on "Literature in the South." Also as a part of the symposium were exhibits on Louisiana's colorful past, a band concert, and the dramatic production of George Bernard Shaw's "The Devil's Disciple."

The Forest History Foundation, Inc., of St. Paul, Minnesota, has chosen the Louisiana State University Department of Archives as one of the few "approved repositories of North American forest history." The Foundation is a non-profit organization dedicated to the preservation, collection and dissemination of the forest history of North America. Parrish Fuller, president of Hillyer-Deutsch-Edwards, Inc., of Oakdale, in presenting a certificate of the Foundation to Vergil L. Bedsole, Head of the LSU Department of Archives, said Louisiana State University "has made a profound contribution to the management of the nation's forests, both public and private . . . It is gratifying to see," Fuller concluded, "that in this magnificent institution a collection of source materials on forest history is being built up."

Book Reviews

OIL ON STREAM! A History of the Interstate Oil Pipe Line Company. By John L. Loos. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959. xvi, 411 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliographical note, index. \$6.00.)

Although the petroleum industry was one hundred years old in 1959, research and writing on its history have long been neglected. It is gratifying to note, however, that within the last ten to fifteen years an increasing number of scholarly books have been published on various aspects of the petroleum industry in the United States. As these volumes have appeared, other scholars have been attracted by the possibilities in this field for research and writing. The petroleum industry, which has become conscious of its rich heritage, has encouraged and assisted in the preparation of many of these studies.

A product of this new and growing interest in petroleum history is Professor Loos' history of the Interstate Oil Pipe Line Company from 1909 to 1959. Invited by company officials to write this volume, Professor Loos was given full access to company records and employees and a free hand to prepare an objective, reliable, and accurate account of the company's history. As a result, he has written the first comprehensive and scholarly book on a pipe-line system. What the author has written adds a significant chapter to the history of the petroleum industry.

The Interstate Oil Pipe Line Company is a relatively young company. It was organized in 1944 through the consolidation of the Oklahoma Pipe Line Company and the Pipe Line Department of Standard of Louisiana whose history dates back to 1909.

To transport crude oil from the prolific fields of Oklahoma to a new refinery being built at Baton Rouge, Louisiana, the Directors of the Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) decided in 1909 to build a pipe line. The portion in Louisiana and Arkansas was built and operated by Standard of Louisiana and that in Oklahoma by the Oklahoma Pipe Line Company. The building of the line is a colorful story with descriptions of pipe-laying gangs, how the pipe was laid, life in the labor camps, working conditions, the hazards and

obstacles, pumping stations, and telegraph and telephone lines. In June, 1910, the line was completed, and the first movement of crude to Baton Rouge began.

The largest part of the book is concerned with the extension of trunk and gathering lines to new and prolific fields first in Louisiana, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Kansas, and later in Mississippi, Illinois, Wyoming, and Montana. By 1959 the company had more than 4,500 miles of trunk and gathering lines and was one of the major crude oil pipe line companies of the country. Litigation, governmental regulations, technological improvements, employee-management relations, earnings and dividends, management organization, relationship of the Jersey Company to the pipe line company, research and development, and mobilization for war form an integral part of the history.

The book is well written and very readable. It is well documented and has an excellent annotated bibliography. The format is attractive. Many photographs, old and modern, and useful maps enhance the reader's interest.

Hamline University

PAUL H. GIDDENS

GENTLE TIGER: The Gallant Life of Roberdeau Wheat. By Charles L. Dufour. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1957. xvi, 232 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography. \$3.50.)

Chatham Roberdeau Wheat was a nineteenth century soldier of fortune who commanded the almost legendary Louisiana Tigers during the Civil War. With them he fought in some of the bloodiest battles of the war—at Bull Run, in the Valley with Stonewall Jackson, and in the Seven Days. His exploits with this fierce group of Louisiana fighters were heroic indeed, and these escapades, so vividly described by Mr. Dufour, read like fiction.

Rob Wheat was born in Alexandria, Virginia, April 9, 1826. His family resided in Maryland, Virginia, Ohio, Louisiana, and finally moved to Tennessee where young Wheat grew up in Nashville. Wheat's spectacular pre-war career included service in the Mexican War as a second lieutenant in the Tennessee Volunteers, a colonelcy in the ill-fated Lopez expedition to free Cuba in 1850, filibustering in North Mexico and Nicaragua, and in 1860, he traveled to Italy to join Garibaldi as a general officer. Interspersed among these varied adventures, he practiced law in New Orleans and Memphis and served in the Louisiana House of Representatives.

In 1861 Wheat returned to Louisiana and recruited volunteers for the Confederate Army. His Louisiana Tigers enjoyed a reputation not undeserved. Freeman called them "the toughest battalion in the army" while a Virginia soldier exclaimed that, "They neither fear God, man or the Devil. They are the lowest scrapings of the Mississippi and New Orleans" (p. 5). Another lad from South Carolina called the Tigers "the worse men I ever saw," and added, "I understand that they are mostly wharf rats from New Orleans, and Major Wheat was the only man who could do anything with them. They were always ready to fight, and it made little difference to them who they fought" (p. 5). In fact, at the battle of Manassas when fired upon by South Carolina troops, the Tigers quickly returned the fire without hesitation.

Major Wheat was wounded in the Manassas campaign. He returned to action at the Battle of Gaines' Mill, but was shot in the head and died on the field of battle (June 27, 1862). His beloved Tigers buried him where he fell. Later the body was removed to Richmond.

Although plagued by a dearth of source material, Mr. Dufour's study is most interesting and well-written. Students of the Civil War and Louisiana History will find it richly rewarding.

Louisiana College

F. JAY TAYLOR

GEORGE W. CABLE: A Biography. By Arlin Turner. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1956. 391 pp. Bibliography, index. \$6.00.)

Present-day students of American literature and the American past are too likely to come away from their courses with an impression of George Washington Cable as a local-color author and little else. This biography, which has brought Arlin Turner well-deserved recognition from the Southern Historical Association, should contribute much to a correction of such errors. This book shows Cable as a writer of great abilities and as an important critic of American society in the late nineteenth century.

The facts of Cable's life are covered thoroughly from his boyhood in New Orleans through his service in the Confederate Army and on through his long career as author and reformer. The research which went into the making of this volume was thorough, but it is not permitted to intrude upon the narrative.

The historian may be disappointed in the treatment of Cable's departure from the conventional Southern point of view on the race question. The evidence indicating his gradual change in attitude is given step by step, but the reader may feel that the author fails to explain the reasons for this change in attitude. In rebuttal, the author might reply with good reason that changes in attitude are emotional as well as intellectual, and that guesswork as to a subject's inner feelings have no place in a factual biography.

This is a book for the student of American literature, for the historian, and for the general reader. The consideration of Cable's works is extensive; their faults do not escape censure, but it is evident that Turner enjoyed his reading. In describing Cable's career, the author provides a good social study of New Orleans and the South after the Civil War, and to a lesser degree of the United States from 1880 until after the turn of the century. For the general reader there are fascinating glimpses of Mark Twain, Henry James, Booker T. Washington, Andrew Carnegie, and other great figures of the period. For all there is the well-told story of George Washington Cable, a major author, a man far ahead of his time in his thinking on social problems, and a fine Christian gentleman.

Francis T. Nicholls State College

JOE G. TAYLOR

WITH BEAUREGARD IN MEXICO. Edited by T. Harry Williams. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1956. Illustrations, maps, appendix, index, \$4.75.)

Five years after the Mexican War Beauregard decided that the sword had failed him in obtaining the recognition which he felt was justly his. He then resorted to that other, often more powerful weapon, the pen. Today, over a hundred years later, his writings have been made available to us.

Presented attractively, introduced in the eminently readable Williams style, Beauregard's Mexican War reminiscences cover a six month period that is crammed full of history making events. A perusal of these reminiscences, however, will reveal little regarding the Mexican War and its heroes that may not be found in other context. Neither will such a perusal give a very accurate picture of military life back then; for, if we are to believe Beauregard, the well trained military man of 1840's was primarily concerned with glory seeking. Patriotism meant little to him. The inner satisfaction of a job well

done meant less than nothing; if, that is, the deeds involved in the "job well done" were not mentioned in the official reports by name and number. Competition was of the essence. One didn't promise to fight his "best for his country"; rather, one vowed that "no one of my grade in the service could surpass me in zeal and activity." Soldiers were evidently a calm, cool lot. "Tearing shoes and pantaloons" while crossing the pedregal, or lava beds, apparently caused more mental anguish than intimate encounters with death and suffering.

The historian can be truly grateful that he need not rely on Beauregard's memoirs alone for his knowledge of the Mexican War. There is, however, another group that may find them of great value. This group consists of the arm chair generals and the pseudo-psychiatrists who delight in dissecting the great and near great of ages past. To these people, a persual of the memoirs is rewarding, shedding, as it does, a beam of light upon the blur which represents the enigmatic Beauregardian character itself.

Southeastern Louisiana College

SIDNEY ROMERO

BEN BUTLER: *The South Called Him BEAST!* By Hans L. Trefousse. (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1957. 256 pp. Illustrated, bibliography, index. \$5.00.)

Benjamin Franklin Butler, more familiarly known to Louisiana tradition as Beast Butler and Spoon Butler, acquired many other uncomplimentary appellations during his long career, 1818 to 1893. Not until 1954 (R. S. Holtzman, *Stormy Ben Butler*), and Professor Trefousse's volume, was there scholarly approach to Butler's bizarre career.

Butler had one thread that ran unbroken throughout his life, controversial notoriety purchased at any price. As a lawyer defending the "poor and oppressed," the depraved, the criminal, the political rogues, or the wealthy client, he had but one criterion; high fees and publicity, which justified any means necessary to win a case, short of legal self incrimination. Butler was sensitive on only two points: the allegation that his father had been hanged as a pirate, and his total lack of victories as one of the highest ranking Union generals.

President Lincoln and General Grant feared Butler's military stupidity and also his political power. He was an excellent administrator, but he thirsted for victories and headlines. The political general failed miserably before Richmond where Grant reported

him as being uselessly "bottled up." These words haunted Butler the remainder of his life. The cartoonist Nast portrayed Butler as "Bottled Up" "A Curiosity of Nature," a mishaped foetal monstrosity. Butler's personal appearance made such a cartoon all the more pointed.

Professor Trefousse shows how facilely Butler ran the gamut of political allegiances. As a political realist he aligned himself for his own personal advantages. He supported causes, perhaps honestly, for better working conditions, and for shorter hours and higher wages. Professor Trefousse fails to note that Butler paid lower wages in his own mills than those he attacked. Until the Civil War made it politically unwise he had no quarrel with slavery. In the 1860 Charleston Democratic Convention Butler voted fifty times for Jefferson Davis. Later he was rabid on the subject of Negroes. He favored women suffrage, inflation, Greenbacks, and the seizure of Canada.

Butler was pre-eminent among the criminal lawyers of his day. In the courtroom "up roar and disorder were his stock in trade." Butler cursed and maligned opposing counsel and witness. Even a judge was not immune. His venomous rhetoric flouted the accepted codes of lawyer, citizen and statesman. As a result he gained headlines, votes, and the fear of political allies and opponents alike. He was probably as deeply hated by large segments in the North as he was in the South. After the war Butler spent years in Congress. He was a powerful Radical reconstruction leader, and was the leading manager in conducting President Andrew Johnson's impeachment.

Professor Trefousse recounts Butler's administration of New Orleans, his inflexibility in hanging William Mumford for removing the Union flag, the "infamous" (in the eyes of most of the world) General Order No. 28 which provided that under certain circumstances New Orleans ladies would be treated as common streetwalkers, and the exceedingly profitable and questionable commercial transactions carried out "unofficially" by the General's brother, Colonel Andrew Butler. The author seems to be defending and apologizing. "Spoon" Butler is explained as a ridiculous Confederate fabrication. Butler had money, therefore he did not need to steal spoons. Butler "bought" General David E. Twiggs silver for Butler's mother.

Professor Trefousse, like Butler's numerous political enemies who tried very hard for years, could find no "provable" dishonesty on Butler's part. His very large income (as a general, as an officeholder, and as advocate and defender of those involved in such scandals as

the *Crédit Moblier*) always came from "legitimate legal fees." It is regrettable that Butler's misused talents caused him to be remembered as notorious rather than great. The volume is well written and its subject matter should interest Louisianians.

Centenary College of Louisiana

W. DARRELL OVERDYKE

ACADIAN ODYSSEY. By Oscar William Winzerling. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana, State University Press, 1955. 244 pp. Footnotes, appendix, index. \$4.85.)

This is the story of the rescue and rehabilitation of one particular group of the several thousands of Acadians ruthlessly torn from their homes by England in 1755 and unceremoniously dumped on the shores of colonial America, England and France. In one brief chapter is a condensed account of the settlement of Acadia (Nova Scotia) in 1604 by deMonts; the character and growth of its population; the political and military events leading to their deportation; and their hardships as exiles.

By the end of the Seven Years War in 1763, seven years after the deportation, the 1500 Acadians held as prisoners in the ports of England had been reduced by grief and disease to 866. The author's account of how Count Nivernois overcame their fears and suspicions, and, by secret negotiations, effected their return to France in 1763 is most interesting. There they joined some 2500 other Acadians who had sought refuge in the mother country. They were soon joined by other Acadians until their number by 1783 had reached nearly 4000. In several chapters are described their long sojourn in France; their misery; their appeals to the King to give them the farms he had promised; the attempts of French officials to settle them on barren and tropical islands; the selfish schemes of nobles to use them to clear their waste lands. All of these schemes left them hopeless and bitter.

Finally in 1783, twenty-seven years after their deportation, a champion of their cause appeared in the person of Peyroux de la Coudreniere, who had lived in Louisiana for seven years and accumulated a fortune there. He advanced the idea of having them settle in Spanish Louisiana. Here we come to the main purpose of the book. Then follows the detailed account of selling the idea to the disillusioned Acadians; the diplomatic exchanges that gained the consent of Louis XVI to let them leave France, and the agreement of King Charles III of Spain to finance their transportation to Louisiana and settle-

ment there. The negotiations leading to the chartering of the seven ships to transport the 1596 Acadian exiles to Louisiana throw much light on the problems of transportation in those times. Their warm reception in Louisiana and the able assistance of Martin Navarro, the Spanish intendent in New Orleans, in building new homes for them on free lands along the Mississippi, Bayou Lafourche, and in the Attakapas and Opelousas Districts leaves one feeling that there were still charity and justice in those days.

The book is a valuable contribution to the Acadian story, an epic in the colonization of America. It is well authenticated and represents much meticulous research in the colonial records of England, France and Spain.

Southwestern Louisiana Institute

HARRY LEWIS GRIFFIN

THE BAPTIST CHURCH IN THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI VALLEY, 1776-1845. By Walter Brownlow Posey. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957, viii, 159 pp. Index. \$5.00.)

Dr. Posey, past president of the Southern Historical Association, has again made a distinct contribution to the records of the South. Having written two similar books on Methodist and Presbyterian Churches, he now presents this study concerning a third early church between the years 1776-1845, in the region lying between the Ohio River and the Gulf of Mexico.

The reader becomes fascinated from the very beginning with the author's entertaining style, which includes tales of backwoods people to show the influence of the church upon the frontier folk. From the earliest days of the Anglo-Saxon migration across the North American continent, the Baptist Church has been a significant force in sculpturing the history of the masses of the South. Each local church functioning in complete freedom from any central control, promised liberty and democracy to its members.

Few congregations of the early Baptist Church made any attempt to support their own ministers, but consonant with the development of the frontier, there came a change in their attitude. Unlike the educated ministers of other denominations, who they looked upon as hindrances to spontaneity and sincerity, the Baptist ministers, though lacking formal education, were sincere in their pursuit of their work and vigilant over the conduct of their members to such

an extent that the church became the focal point in establishing and promoting community life.

Because the church in the South found Scriptural grounds for defending slavery, a rift occurred that terminated in 1845, when the Southern Baptist Convention came into being, and the northern and southern Baptist churches became separated.

Evangelistic procedures in the picturesque revivals, known as "Camp Meetings," influenced the rural life of the South profoundly, and became so great an attraction that the Baptist Church eventually surpassed all Protestant denominations in membership.

This unbiased depiction of the religion of early settlers who, though possessing little property or worldly goods, passed on an indomitable spirit of independence, is authentic and it should endure through the years for it is of significant importance to students of history, sociology, and the church.

Byrd High School, Shreveport

MATTIE GRAY BROWN

PREHISTORIC INDIAN SETTLEMENTS OF THE CHANGING MISSISSIPPI RIVER DELTA. Louisiana State University Studies, Coastal Studies Series Number One. By William G. McIntire. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958. x, 128 pp. Maps, illustrations, diagrams, tables, appendix, bibliography. \$5.50.)

Dr. McIntire is a cultural-historical geographer who in this study sought to reconstruct the prehistoric settlement pattern of coastal Louisiana. As field evidence he collected artifacts left by the early occupants of the area and he examined mounds and middens as they were revealing of mode of living. Pottery, which in its form and decoration reflects changing fashions, was the key for establishing the relative temporal position of the several hundred habitation sites that were studied.

In an area dominantly marshy the primitive inhabitants had little choice in selecting building sites. West of Vermilion Bay, relatively high ground was provided by the *chenieres*, long, old beach ridges stranded in the marsh by the seaward growth of the coast. East of Vermilion Bay, choice sites were the high natural banks of the Mississippi and related streams.

As the Mississippi during the last three thousand years switched its deltaic discharge into the Gulf back and forth between Vermilion Bay and Mississippi Sound, so did the contemporary inhabitants occupy the banks of the latest stream. Thus the record of earliest human occupancy of a specific deltaic complex establishes the relative chronological position of that active stream among the six recognizable deltaic systems.

The five sequential cultural groupings identified for coastal Louisiana are generally those recognized for other sections of the Lower Mississippi Valley. They bear names meaningful in this sense only to the archaeologist: Tchefuncte, Marksville, Troyville, Coles Creek, and Plaquemine, in order from oldest to youngest. This relative age grouping was determined some years ago by archaeologic methods. The radio-carbon method of absolute dating, of recent introduction, confirmed the relative dating and established a time range of some two thousand years for coastal Louisiana, from about 1500 A.D. back to the beginning of the Christian Era.

The human chronology helped establish a parallel sequence for the six more-recent delta systems of the Mississippi: Teche, Metairie, Barataria, St. Bernard, Lafourche, and Balize, also in order from oldest to present. This order was confirmed and absolute dating established by radio-carbon tests.

Dr. McIntire's study is truly a scholarly, precedent-setting accomplishment. It earned its way by establishing the sequence of the Mississippi River's changing courses. It is only regrettable that more attention could not have been given to the ecological setting of the settlements themselves, thus contributing to a primary theme of human geography, man-land relations, as meaningful for prehistoric peoples as for any living group.

Louisiana State University

FRED KNIFFEN

NOTICE

Members and prospective members of the Louisiana Historical Association are cautioned not to confuse the Association with the Louisiana Historical Society. It has come to our attention that some individuals have sent membership dues to the Society rather than to the Association.

Condolence

The editorial staff of *Louisiana History* extend their sincere sympathy to the family of Mr. Wesley C. Holland, plant superintendent of the Franklin Press, who died on March 27, 1960. Mr. Holland took a prideful interest in the issuance of the first number of *Louisiana History* and greatly assisted its staff in the preparation of final copy and proofreading processes.